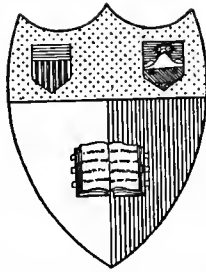




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THE
ROYAL MIRACLE



*Charles II in 1651.
from the engraved portrait by
Hollar after Abraham Diepenbecke.*

THE ROYAL MIRACLE

A COLLECTION OF RARE TRACTS, BROADSIDES,
LETTERS, PRINTS, & BALLADS CONCERNING THE
WANDERINGS OF CHARLES II. AFTER THE BATTLE
OF WORCESTER (SEPTEMBER 3—OCTOBER 15, 1651).
WITH A PREFACE, HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION,
APPENDIX, BIBLIOGRAPHY, AND ILLUSTRATIONS

: : By A. M. BROADLEY : :

AUTHOR OF "DR. JOHNSON AND MRS. THRALE," "CHATS ON
AUTOGRAPHS," "NAPOLEON IN CARICATURE," ETC. ETC.

Post Mortem Patris pro Filio
(Legend on Pontefract Siege Shilling of 1648)

LONDON: STANLEY PAUL & CO.
31 ESSEX STREET, STRAND : MCMXII

RBS

TO MY COMPANIONS
IN THE PILGRIMAGE
OF SEPTEMBER 3—SEPTEMBER 9, 1911
OVER THE ROUTE FOLLOWED BY
KING CHARLES II
DURING HIS WANDERINGS
BETWEEN SEPTEMBER 3 AND OCTOBER 15, 1651
AND TO THOSE GOOD FRIENDS
WHO WELCOMED THE PILGRIMS
AT WORCESTER AND BRIGHTON
THIS BOOK IS INSCRIBED

THE KNAPP,
BRADPOLE,
MARCH 17, 1912.

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Preface

ON the evening of September 23, 1889, the late Sir Augustus Harris produced at Drury Lane a romantic drama entitled "The Royal Oak," of which he and Mr. Henry Hamilton were the joint authors. The subject was not a new one,* as plays dealing with the same theme had achieved some success at the "Little Theatre" in the Haymarket both in 1732 and 1811. The date selected for the first night of the Drury Lane drama was unwittingly a felicitous one, for it was on that very day in 1651 that the fugitive King and his companions had avoided capture by turning promptly out of the Dorchester and Bridport main road into Lee Lane, by which they reached the village of Bradpole in the picturesque valley of the Asker. The high hedges of Lee Lane, broken here and there by the presence of old and weather-beaten oaks, are clearly visible from the house in which I was born, as well as from the windows of the room where I am now writing. In 1885, my friend, Mr. J. S. Udal, of Symonds-bury, had contributed to the *Proceedings* of the Dorset Field Club a paper on the subject of the wanderings of Charles II in West Dorset, which contained a great number of new and interesting facts; but it was not till 1897 that Mr. Allan Fea, in his *Flight of the King*, first identified the farm still known as "Ellesdon's," situated in the parish of Monkton Wyld near Charmouth, as "the house in the hills" where Charles had spent the afternoon of Monday, September 22, 1651, the day on which he had left Trent Manor, near Yeovil, in the hope of effecting

* See Bibliography, p. 320.

Preface

his escape to France from some convenient creek on the Dorset littoral. In the spring of 1897, before the appearance of Mr. Fea's book, the then Vicar of Lyme Regis, Canon C. Myers, and I both arrived at a similar conclusion as to the important part played by "Ellesdon's" in what has often been described as "the most soul-stirring romance of English history." The satisfactory identification of "the house in the hills," doubtless much more secluded in 1651 than it is in 1912, was followed by that of Lee Lane, where the occurrence, already alluded to, which old Thomas Fuller describes as the "Miraculous Divergence," took place some twenty-four hours later than the conference at "Ellesdon's" Farm. It was undoubtedly the Drury Lane play of September, 1889, which first turned my attention to the close association of West Dorset with the royal adventures of September, 1651. "The Royal Oak" was staged with due attention to both historical and antiquarian detail: Mr Arthur Collins (upon whose able shoulders the mantle of "Druriolanus Imperator" descended) went down to Boscobel in search of local colour, and the part of Charles was taken by the late Mr. Henry Neville, with Mr. Henry Loraine as the "Rev. Melchizedek Seek-and-Find" and Mr. Harry Nicholls as "Walk-in-the-way Dear Love," with Miss Fanny Brough as "Patty Woodroffe" and Miss Winifred Emery as "Mildred Clavering." It was during the preparations for the "Royal Oak" that I made the acquaintance of Mr. James Penderel-Brodhurst, the lineal descendant of "loyal Humphrey" and now one of the co-heirs to the Penderel pension. Between 1897 and 1901 I succeeded in obtaining a considerable number of the various editions of the Boscobel tracts, and my interest in the subject was confirmed and intensified by each new discovery. The latter year was the 250th anniversary of the "Flight of the King"; and in it, on the 23rd September, Mr. Penderel-Brodhurst unveiled the rough block of Bothenhampton stone set up at the junction of the Dorchester Road and Lee Lane, upon which passers-by may read the words:—

Preface

King Charles II.

escaped capture through this lane

Sep xxiii MDCLI

“When midst your fiercest foes on every side,
For your escape God did a Lane provide.”
Thomas Fuller’s “Worthies,”

Erected Sept^r. xxiii, MDCCCC I.

A. M. B.

Shortly afterwards, commemorative tablets were, by public subscription, placed on the front walls of “Ellesdon’s” Farm, the “Manse” at Charmouth and the “George” at Broadwindsor, all of which places are associated with the events of September 22–24, 1651. It was in 1901 that the idea of a journey by road “in the footsteps of the King,” from Worcester to Brighton, the beginning and the end of Charles’ adventurous ride, occurred to me. Circumstances postponed its realisation indefinitely; but I continued from that time onwards to collect with unabated vigour literary, pictorial and artistic matter of every description relating to the “Royal Oak.” I very soon discovered that the thrilling story of 1651 had fascinated others quite as strongly as myself. Lord St. Leonard’s in his old age “extra-illustrated,” or grangerised, a copy of the 1766 edition of “Boscobel” into a huge volume of elephant folio size. This book, after one or two intermediate sales, came into my possession, and about the same time a copy of *Whiteladies*, thitherto described as unique, fell into my hands. To the collection of books, prints and autographs I now added that of the loyalist badges* in various metals (many of them decorated with the “Royal Oak”) worn by the sturdy loyalists of 1649–1660. It was soon apparent that I was not the only “Boscobel” collector in the field, for in the person of the late Mr. Frederick L. Mawdesley of Fulford Cottage, Dormans Park, Surrey, I had an enthusiastic and

* See p. 23, and illustration facing.

Preface

successful rival. In the early part of 1909 we compared notes. Whilst he frankly envied me my *Whiteladies*, he was justly proud of the rare and unpublished broadside "The History of his Sacred Majestie's most Wonderful Preservation after the Battle of Worcester," published at the Turk's Head, Ivy Lane, in 1660,* which is now reprinted in the present volume.

Mr. Mawdesley had somehow overlooked the St. Leonard's collection, and, like myself, had long sought in vain for Abraham Jennings' *Miraculum Basilikon* of 1664 and a pamphlet supposed to be entitled "The Five Faithful Brothers." A little later Mr. Mawdesley died, and on 21 November, 1910, the whole of his valuable Stuart library was sold at Sotheby's. At that sale, I was fortunate enough to secure the Turk's Head broadside and nearly all the "Boscobel" books I did not already possess. Feeling that the search after Jennings' book was practically hopeless, I arranged for the transcription of the entire work† from the two copies in the British Museum, which had hitherto been erroneously described as imperfect. A careful examination of the "Boscobel" items in the Bodleian Library leads one to think that the "Five Faithful Brothers" pamphlet, which so puzzled Mr. Mawdesley, is in reality the ballad‡ "The Wonderful and Miraculous Escape of Our Gracious King," in which the words "the five loyall & faithfull Brothers" appear conspicuously as the sub-title.

In the summer of 1911 a West Dorset Pageant was held at Bradpole. As might be expected, the "Miraculous Divergence" of September 23, 1651,—beyond a doubt the most interesting and important event in the annals of the village—was selected for dramatic representation.§ It was played with remarkable success just two months before the 260th anniversary of its actual occurrence. The evolution of the motor-car made a Carolean pilgrimage from Worcester to Brighton far easier to accomplish in 1911 than ten years previously. It was finally decided on before the West Dorset Pageant was over, and was carried out without a single hitch between September 3 and September 9 of last year. The successful excursion will always remain a cherished memory

* See p. 73. † See p. 101. ‡ See p. 109. § See p. 265.

Preface

with all those who took part in it, and one of its enduring consequences is the publication of this book, which, in addition to some entirely new information, contains several tracts and broadsides never previously reprinted. Before the Pilgrims had left Worcester, two very valuable papers* dealing with what we may call the first scene in the drama were read in the historic Commandery, where "Duke Hamilton" died of his wounds a few days after the fight of September 3, 1651. They evoked a good deal of discussion; and quite two months later a native of Worcester, Mr. Robert Price, now settled at "La Nouvelle Vigne," Hillary, Natal, wrote home of the pleasure it had given him to recall the memories of the timbered dwellings near the King's House (in one of which he had lived), the old custom of wearing oak-leaves on September 3, and the bitter significance of the threat "off to Barbadoes you go." At Brighton a serious argument arose† as to the precise position of the "George Inn," where the last arrangements for Charles II's escape were made on the evening of Tuesday, October 14, 1651.

It has been deemed expedient to maintain as far as possible the original form and spelling of the various items selected for re-publication, concerning which further information will be given in the Historical Introduction. Any attempt to modernise the language would destroy its old-world charm, without materially assisting the reader. The papers read during the Carolean Pilgrimage of September 3-9, together with a narrative of the Pilgrimage itself and its itinerary, are, in order to avoid confusion, placed in the Appendix.

I desire to express my gratitude for help afforded to me, either in connection with the Pilgrimage or during the preparation of this volume, to Dr. Ede, Dean of Worcester, the Rev. Canon Wilson, Mr. Joseph Littlebury, Mr. J. W. Willis Bund, F.S.A., Mr. F. J. Spackman and Mr. R. H. Murray, all of Worcester; Mr. and Miss Brown-Westhead, of Lea Castle; the Rev. Canon Carr and Mrs. Brown, of Boscobel; Colonel Bullen, of Catherstone; Miss L. B. Symes, of Charmouth; the Rev. W. Jacob, of Lyme Regis; Mr. W. J. Peak-Mason, of Trent Manor; the Rev. T. G. Wilton, Vicar of Trent;

* See Appendices I and II.

† See pp. 45-6.

Preface

Mr. A. W. Gerrard ; the Hon. Louis Greville, of Heale House ; Mr. Charles Thomas-Stanford, the Mayor of Brighton, Mrs. Thomas-Stanford ; Mr. Henry W. Roberts, Director of the Brighton Public Library, Museums and Fine Art Galleries ; Messrs. Richard, Walter, and Frederick Harrison, of Brighton ; Mr. F. J. W. Crowe, Organist of Chichester Cathedral ; and Mr. T. M. Woodhead, of Bradford. In the preparation of the original itinerary of the Pilgrimage invaluable aid was accorded me by Mr. Charles G. Harper, our greatest authority on English roads, and Mr. Bernard Penderel-Brodhurst. Since the execution of the tour, the itinerary has been carefully revised by my friend, Mr. Alfred Brewis, of Newcastle-on-Tyne, himself one of the pilgrims. Much valuable information has been given me by Miss M. L. Arthur, Mr. J. Horace Round, Mr. James Penderel-Brodhurst, the Rev. Canon Mayo (Editor of *Somerset and Dorset Notes and Queries*), Mr. T. M. Baker, the Rev. F. E. Trotman, Mr. R. R. Conway (a descendant of the Cogans of Coaxton), and Mr. P. M. Gainsford Tombs (a descendant of Charles II's host at Long Marston). My publisher, Mr. Stanley Paul, has spared no pains to obtain artistic reproductions of the seventeenth-century engravings, and I am specially indebted to Mr. G. L. de St. M. Watson for the English version of the very crabbed Latin lines below two of the contemporary portraits of the youthful hero of the great adventure of 1651. Since the greater part of the text of this volume was printed the whole of the MSS. of the late George Roberts (1804-1860), the historian of Lyme Regis, has come into my possession. This has enabled me to add an important note on the subject of the Alfordes, the Ellesdons, and the Wesleys in the Appendix. Mr. Roberts clearly shows from the Lyme archives that Charles II revisited the scenes of his West Dorset adventures of 1651 in the summer of 1671. At the last moment I have also been able to insert what I think must be the earliest contemporary account of the Worcester fight, written only a few hours after the battle.

A. M. B.

THE KNAPP, BRADPOLE,
MAY 1, 1912.

SECT. II.

The Nativities of Prime Chats.

I have seen several Nativities that have been reported to by the Princely Natives, & to us, one that one more effectually than all our *London-Astrologers* self securely confident is the right. Which was the time of his birth to be in the year of our Lord 1630. *May the 19. 10 m. P. M.* or afternoon. Now we know there can be but one Truth; and if this be so, I would willingly demand what direction those are (by such a correction) should invent their accidents following; which have already happened unto him? I cannot (by the best of my skill) discover any, and am therefore apt to suppose, & the verify thereof.

1. *Aged 9 years, broke his Arms and disfigure in body.*
2. *Aged 10 years, a slight fever, and spice of the Jaundice.*
3. *Aged 12 years, the measles, left London, &c.*
4. *Aged 16 years, went to France, had a scarlet fever.*
5. *Aged 20 years, Crowned in Scotland.*
6. *Aged 21 years, married at Worcester.*

By the time given, before-mentioned, there is but one of these accidents that can have a direction to signify it, and that is the Crowning of him in Scotland; and that's the Midheaven to the Δ of Υ : but



CHARLES II

Crowned King of Scotland

January 1. 1651 R. M^oon Eclipse

CHARLES II IN 1651

(From the portrait in John Gadbury's "Nativity of the late King Charles" (1659), in possession of the writer)

Historical Introduction

THE fateful year 1651 began with the gloomy ceremonial which attended the Coronation of Charles Stuart, King of England *de jure*, as King of Scotland *de facto*, at Scone.

Born at St. James's Palace on May 29, 1630, Charles II was only in his twenty-first year, but he had already sown a plentiful crop of wild oats both in France and Flanders, if not in England as well. The astrologers* carefully noted that he came into the world at 10.21 a.m., and his horoscope in consequence portended a chapter of untoward accidents, the most serious of which might be expected to occur in the years 1640, 1642 and 1644, when he suffered from attacks of jaundice, measles and scarlet fever. Still more serious mischief was foretold for 1651, and both in the dismal Scotch coronation on New Year's Day and the disaster at Worcester eight months later many saw the fulfilment of those forebodings of evil. Wise men gravely shook their heads when they read that "on the very day of the battel at Worcester, it is observable, the sun was in Quartile to his Radical place. Jupiter was in Quartile to the Ascendant of the Radix *ad gradum*; Mars was in opposition to the place, and Midheaven; and the Moon in square to Mars & Venus." All this was written in 1659 when the fortunes of Charles seemed brighter, and the seer, with a pardonable disposition to hedge, tactfully concluded his examination of the royal horoscope by stating the obvious fact that the future "must bring either good or evil." "If it hap to prove good," he continued, "my acquainting the world therewith might render me

* See *The Nativity of the Late King Charles, etc.*, by John Gadbury. 1659.

The Royal Miracle

dangerous unto the powers that protect me. If it should be bad, my publication thereof would be accounted for envy." In 1659 prudent prophets as well as prudent politicians were content to sit on the fence.

Both in the years 1650 and 1651 broadsheets were published plentifully in the interests of both parties to the great quarrel, which drew the attention of all Europe to these distracted realms and especially to the gallant young prince, who lacked neither personal courage, ready wit nor good looks, and was engaged in a desperate struggle to recover his father's lost throne. These curious human documents are now very useful aids to history-making. At the commencement of the sixth decade of the seventeenth century peace prevailed over nearly the whole European continent. In France the protracted struggles of the Frondeurs were gradually coming to an end, although as recently as January, 1649, the infant King Louis XIV (the son of Charles's godfather Louis XIII, and his junior by eight years) had been compelled, together with his mother Anne of Austria and her favourite minister Cardinal Mazarin, to leave Paris, and for a time wander from province to province in search of a place of refuge. The extent of the interest felt in the supreme effort of the youthful King of Scotland to assert his hereditary rights on the other side of the border is attested both by the number and the character of the engraved portraits* of him published at this juncture, openly in Holland, and secretly in England, where those who were willing to risk both life and fortune in giving practical expression to their belief in the motto *Post mortem Patris pro Filio*, which is conspicuous on the Pontefract "Siege Shilling" of 1648-9, were far more numerous than was generally imagined. Of the fine portraits distinguished by the presence of symbolical figures and accessories, the most remarkable are those etched by W. Hollar after Abraham Van Diepenbeeck and by the same artist after Cornelis Schut.† The first-named forms the

* See Appendix XI, Iconography, pp. 321-4.

† See Appendix XI, Iconography, pp. 323-4, Nos. 18 and 28.

Historical Introduction

frontispiece of this volume. Under each of these portraits are some verses in the crabbed Latin then in vogue, rendered occasionally more difficult by the accidental errors of the letter-engraver. To Mr. G. L. de St. M. Watson I am indebted for a metrical translation of the inscriptions under both prints. Below the Van Diepenbeeck portrait we read :—

“ To the Phœnix, restored to life,
To the Morning Star, putting the mists to flight,
To the Sun, utterly abolishing the darkness,
To CHARLES II D.G. King of Great Britain & Ireland—

Hell's wingèd brood, murk-steep'd, doth flee the Stars,
And grisly Horror shuns the Orb of Day :
So to its Stygian bourne the Tribe that wars
Is beaten back by Charles's Scion's ray.

A golden Light chanced at thy birth t'illumine
Apollo's path, and thus exalt the Sky :
So may'st thou, Charles, with two-fold flame consume
Thy foes—and then thy People vivify !”

The words under the Schut portrait are scarcely less flattering :—

“ To Charles the Second, by the Grace of God King of Great Britain, France and Ireland ; because he has raised to a hope of vindication and of glorification the down-trodden dignity of Kingly Majesty, and the Country enslaved to an odious servitude— To His Royal Majesty Tearful England presents herself with eternal devotion.

Stretch forth thy vengeful hand in kingly Pride,
For, ah ! a fell Beast holds me in its thrall !
Justice is smitten, Piety scorn'd—o'er all,
Gold-greed accurst gnaws at Things sanctified.

The Shaft of Kingship in the dust is laid :
Still, I pray Heav'n my Anchor be not ta'en.
Let the Beast prove the armed Subduer's main ;
The Avengers lash it with death-dealing blade.

The Royal Miracle

Bereft of thee, all hope we lack ; but Jove
Shall bind thy brow with diadem and shall thrust
The sceptres fitly in thy hands—so trust
His fire-blent bolts, and Pallas' shield above."

Many of the portraits of the Prince of Wales executed in early boyhood were now retouched so as to represent him as he might be supposed to appear when he turned his face southwards to do battle outside the walls of Worcester with the victor of Dunbar—the formidable Parliamentary leader who figured in the Royalist broadsides as O. C.

The compilers of the two contemporary almanacks for 1651 which I have consulted were evidently stout Parliamentarians. One of them, at any rate, like the astute John Gadbury, must have been something of a prophet, for he heads the particulars he gives of the month of September with the lines:—

"*Sol* first applys to friendly *Jove*, and then [*sic*]
To cruell *Mars* (that enemy of man)
Whose calid Natures close heaven's moistening-gate
The usuall harvest to anticipate.
Corn ripes apace ; but yet there's cause to feare
Strong winds will shake the heavie-laden-care."

September had evidently already proved an unlucky month for the Royalists. On the 3rd of that month the Scots were routed the second time by Cromwell (1650); on the 13th Essex died (1646); on the 21st the colours of the defeated Scots had been hung in Westminster Hall (1650); on the 24th the King's forces suffered defeat at Rowton (1645); on the 27th Sir John Gell was sentenced by the High Court of Justice (1650); and so forth. The illustration of the almanack for August, September and October, 1651, now given, shows the phases of the moon, and may prove useful to those who desire to follow carefully the adventures of King Charles, from

August hath xxxi. dayes.		
1	C	Sun rſe. 34 m. aft. 4. ſets 26 m. aft. 7.
2	D	Moyſture and high winds begin the Month.
3	E	
4	F	
5	G	
6	A	New Moon half an hour paſt 6. in the morning.
7	B	
8	C	
9	D	Sun riſeth 51 min. after 4. ſets 9 min. after 7.
10	E	Hot diſputes or many religious Controverſies in ſeveral parts of this Kingdom; the Commonalty murmuring againſt their wrangling and hard-hearted Miniſters. Firſt quart. 40 m. paſt two in the morn.
11	F	
12	G	
13	A	
14	B	
15	C	
16	D	
17	E	
18	F	
19	G	
20	A	Full Moon 32 min. paſt 5. in the afternoon.
21	B	Sun riſeth 10 min. paſt 5. ſets 50 min. paſt 6.
22	C	
23	D	
24	E	Bartholomew.
25	F	
26	G	
27	A	Laſt quart. 30 min. paſt 6. at night.
28	B	A great inclination to Rain, and ſtrong North-Welt winds towards this Months end.
29	C	
30	D	
31	E	

September hath xxx. dayes.		
1	G	Sun riſes 28 m. paſt 5. ſets 32 paſt 6: Temperate ſeaſon, and comfortable.
2	A	
3	B	
4	C	New Moon 22 min. after 11 at night.
5	D	
6	E	
7	F	
8	G	Naivity of Mary.
9	A	Præſent of humilitates expectetur.
10	B	Sun riſes 26. ſets at 6.
11	C	
12	D	Firſt quart. at 11 in the morn.
13	E	Near this time probably thunder and Lightning, with ſome ſudden rain or violent action, if no fire or casualty in the City.
14	F	
15	G	
16	A	
17	B	
18	C	
19	D	Full Moon 38 m. paſt 2. in the morn.
20	E	Sun riſes 19 m. paſt 6. ſets 41 paſt 5.
21	F	Matthew Evang.
22	G	
23	A	The Generall of our Forces is promiſed fair, according to the quality of the action in hand.
24	B	
25	C	
26	D	Laſt quart. 40 min. before noon.
27	E	Temperat. incumbent, and tranquillity.
28	F	Michael Arch-angel.
29	G	
30	A	

October hath xxxi. dayes.		
1	B	Sun riſes 38 m. paſt 6. ſets 22 m. paſt 5.
2	C	
3	D	
4	E	
5	F	New Moon 45 min. paſt one at noon.
6	G	
7	A	
8	B	
9	C	
10	D	Sun riſes at 7. ſets at 5.
11	E	Firſt quart. 15 m. paſt 6. at night
12	F	Fogues & humidity.
13	G	
14	A	
15	B	
16	C	
17	D	
18	E	Engle. Full Moon at two a clock after noon.
19	F	
20	G	Sun riſes 40 m. paſt 7. ſets 40 m. paſt 4.
21	A	Temperat. hyemalis.
22	B	
23	C	Truce begins.
24	D	
25	E	
26	F	Laſt quart. 19 min. paſt 7 in the morning.
27	G	Simon and Jude.
28	A	Pheasant mixta nubilus, frigoris efficit & ventus.
29	B	
30	C	
31	D	

ALMANACK FOR AUGUST, SEPTEMBER, AND OCTOBER, 1651, SHOWING THE PHASES OF THE MOON DURING THOSE MONTHS
(From the original in the British Museum)

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dawn on Wednesday, September 3, when he surveyed the contending armies from the summit of Worcester Cathedral tower until sunrise on Wednesday, October 15, when the good ship "Surprise" was well on its way from Shoreham Creek to the coast of Normandy.

It is presumed that the reader is already familiar with the general details of the fight at Worcester on September 3, 1651. They are sufficiently set forth in the old texts now reprinted, and are lucidly explained in the paper read at Worcester on September 2, 1911, by Mr. J. W. Willis Bund, F.S.A., the learned author of *The Civil War in Worcestershire*. An important point as to the whereabouts of the King during the whole, or some portion, of his sojourn in the "Faithful City" has also been discussed by Mr. F. J. Spackman.* In a rare little volume illustrated with rude woodcuts and entitled "A Narration of the most material Parliamentary Proceedings of this present Parliament & their Armies, in their Civil & Martial Affairs . . . continued until this year, published as a Breviary. Printed for Th : Jenner, at the South Entrance of the Royal Exchange MDCLII", will be found the following early contemporary account of the struggle spoken of by the Royalists as "a black disaster," and the Round-heads (with whom Jenner evidently sympathised), as "God's Crowning Mercy" :—

"3 September 1651. This day twelve months was glorious at Dunbar, but this day hath been very glorious before Worcester, the word was, *The Lord of Hosts*, and so it was now, The Lord of Hosts having been wonderfully with us; the same signall we had now as then, which was to have no white about us, yet the Lord hath clothed us with white Garments, though to the Enemy they have been bloody, onely here lyeth the difference, that at Dunbar our work was at break of day, and done ere the morning was over, but now it began towards the close of the evening, and ended not till the night came; That in the end it became an absolute Victory, determined by an immediate possession of the Towne, with a totall Rowting & Defeat of the Scotch Army, the number of persons taken is neer 10,000, neer 3000 were slaine

* See Appendix I, p. 233, and Appendix II, p. 241.

The Royal Miracle

of the Enemy, but of all our side not above 200, which addes much to the mercy. My Lord Generall did exceedingly hazard himselfe, riding up & downe in the midst of their shot, and riding himself in person to the Enemies forts, offering them quarter whereto they returned no answer, but shot; let us conclude therefore in the words of our renowned Generall, The dimensions of this mercy are above all our thoughts, it is for aught I know, A Crowning mercy, sure if it be not such a one we shall have, if this provoke not those that are concerned in it to thankfullnesse, and the Parliament to do the will of him, who hath done his will for it, and for the Nation ”

“The Scots King beaten at Worcester, gets into a hollow tree, remains there a night, the next day in a wood, cuts his hair short, ships for Havre de Grace & so to Paris.

“Sir, the Scottish King came hither the last of *October, new style*, and being demanded by his Mother & the Duke of Orleans, how he escaped the Fight of Worcester, gave them this account.

That about six o'clock in the evening, his Army being in all likelihood beaten, he quitted *Worcester* Towne with a party of horse, and marched towards Lancashire, but being fearfull of being pursued; and likewise of some of the Scottish officers that might deliver him up, he with my Lord *Wilmot* quitted their horses, sent the party of horse upon their march, and betook themselves the second dayes march from *Worcester* into a Tree, where they remained untill night, and then marched on foot that night; the third day they took Sanctuary in a Wood, and night approaching, marched on towards Lancashire, where they were received by a Lady, who furnished them with Cloathes for a Disguise, & cut off their haire very short. Having reposed two or three days, the Lady resolved to endeavour to ship them out of England; to which purpose, she riding behind the King, and Wilmot as another servant by, they went to Bristol, but finding a narrow & hot inquiry there, resolved to goe for London, where they stayed three weeks. The King one day went into Westminster Hall; where he saith he saw the States-Arms, and Scots Colours; my Lord Wilmot procured a Merchant to hire a ship of forty tuns to transport them, which cost them a hundred and twenty pounds, but where they took shipping is not yet knowne; but as soon as my Lord was entred the Barque, and the King as his Servant, the Master of the Vessel came to my Lord, and told him, That he knew the King, and told him, that in case it should be knowne he could expect no mercy, which saying troubled them, But at length, what with money &



COLLECTION OF LOYALIST BADGES, ETC., 1649-1651
(Formed by the writer and arranged by Messrs. Spink)

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promises, they prevailed, and so set saile for Havre de Grace, where they landed, and from thence to Rouen, where they clothed themselves, and writ to Paris.

.

Here we have, in all probability, the first version of the legend of the Royal Oak, destined nine years later not only to achieve immortality, but to enter, for all time, into many phases of social life. Between 1651 and 1660 the Monarch of the Forest became the latest and most approved emblem of loyalty, and figured, together with some appropriate motto, on the badges secretly worn by the faithful followers of the King in exile.*

The curious account of Worcester fight given by Thomas Fuller in his *Worthies of England* was evidently penned long before its publication in 1662, after the death of the author. Broadwindsor in Dorset played an important part in the history of the Royal wanderings; and the King's escape there during the night of September 23-4 is little less miraculous than his preservation in the Boscobel Oak (September 6) or the sudden inspiration which led him to turn from the Dorchester Road into Lee Lane (September 23). Fuller became Vicar of Broadwindsor in 1634, and never seems to have resigned the benefice till his death on 16 August, 1661. In 1651 he was an absentee, his place being filled by John Pinney. Fuller's son, who, in 1662, inscribed the *Worthies* to Charles as "Your Majestie's meanest subject, the Author's Orphan," was born at Broadwindsor in June, 1641. It is thus that Thomas Fuller speaks of the "Fatall Fight" of September 3, 1651:—

"Many sharp Skirmishes have happened in this *County*, and

* See Illustration, p. 23. About twenty of these badges are in the possession of the writer. On one of them is a crowned bust of the King in profile to the right and the words *Carolus Secundus*, while the reverse shows three crowns in the branches of a leafless oak, with the sun bursting from the clouds above them, and the motto *Tandem Revirescit*. A token on similar lines was also issued by L. G. Lauffer, of Nuremberg.

The Royal Miracle

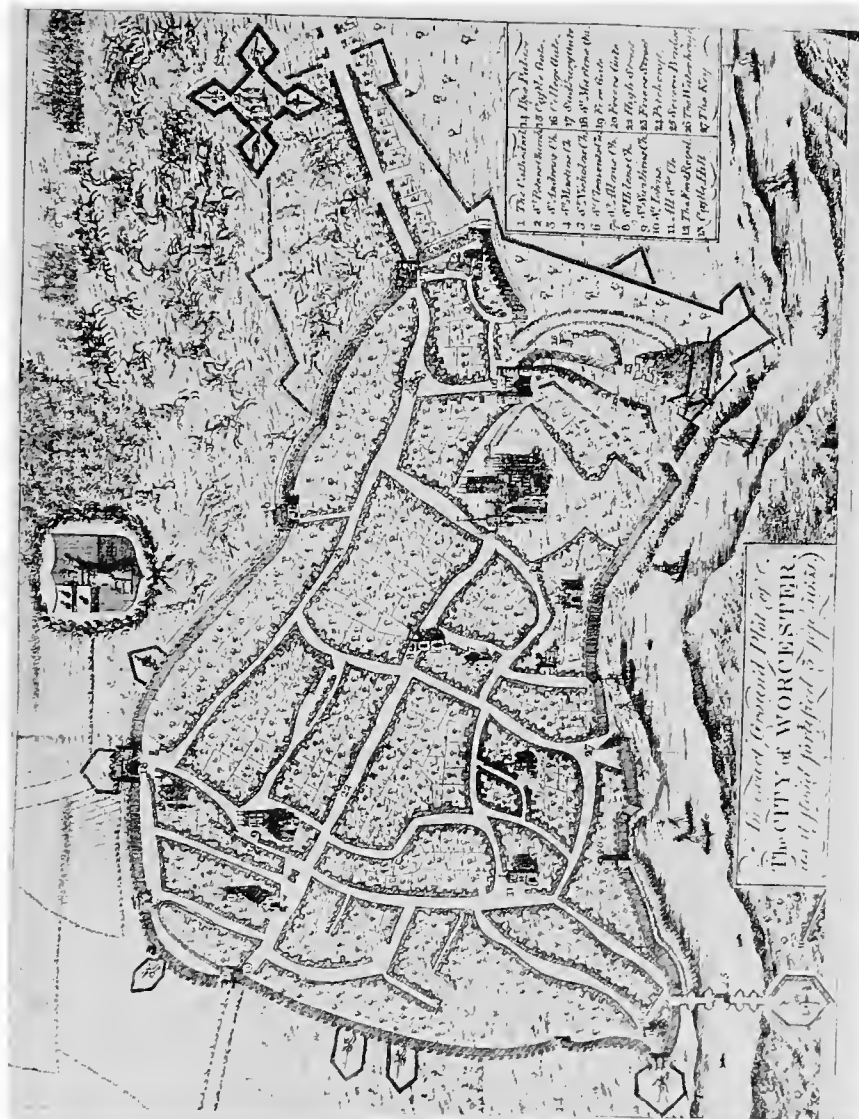
near this City. We onely insist on that *Fatall Fight*, September the third, 1651.

“Know then (as *Introductory* thereunto) that His Majesty on the first of *August* foregoing began his March from *Edinburgh* into *England*, not meeting with any considerable Opposition, (those at *Warrington* being soon put to flight by his presence,) until he came to *Worcester*: His Army consisted of *twelve thousand* effectuall *Fighting men* (whereof *two thousand English*, the rest of the *Scottish Nation*) but neither excellently Armed, nor plentifully stored with Ammunition, whilst the *Parliament Forces* under *Cromwell* more than doubled that Number, wanting nothing (but a *Good Cause*) that an Army could wish or desire.

“The *Royalist Cheifest Strength* consisted in *two Passes* they possessed over the *River of Severn*, which proved not advantagious according to expectation: For the enemy found the *River Fordable* elsewhere; and the Bridge & Pass at *Uptorn* [*sic*], though valiantly defended by *Major Generall Massey*, (who received a shot in his hand) was forced by *Lambert* powring in unequall Numbers on the King's Forces. Besides *Cromwell* finished a Bridge of Boards & Plancks over the main river with more *Celerity* and less *Resistance*, than could have been expected in a manner of such importance.

“Then began the Battle, wherein His Majesty to remember his subjects Good, forgot his own Safety, and gave an incomparable example of Valour to the rest by Charging in his Own Person. This was followed by few to the same degree of danger, but imitated in the greatest measure by the *Highlanders*, fighting with the But-ends of their *Muskets*, when their Ammunition was spent. But new supplies constantly Charging them, and the Main Body of the *Scotch Horse* not coming up in due time from the City to His Majesties relief, his Army was forced to retreat in at *Sudbury-gate*, in much disorder.

“If there were (which some more than whisper) *false & foul Play*



PLAN OF WORCESTER IN 1651
 (From an engraving of 1660 in possession of the writer)

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in some Persons of Principall Trust ; as they have had *a great space reasonably*, God grant them his *Grace sincerely* to repent, for their Treacherous retarding the happiness, prolonging & increasing the Miseries of a *Gracious King* and *three great Nations*. Sure it is, here were slain the Flower of the *Scottish Loyal Gentry*, with the most *Illustrious, William* (formerly Earl of *Lanerick*) Duke of *Hamilton*. As for *Common Souldiers*, some few who escaped had a *longer life* to have a *sadder death*, wandering in the Country till other mens *Charity* & their own *Strength* failed them.

“Since how God hath conducted His Majesty miraculously through Laberynth of many Difficulties, to the Peaceable Possession of His Throne, is notoriously known to the wonder of the world. Here my Muse heartily craveth leave to make an Honorable address to His Majesty Depositing at his feet the ensuing *Panegyrick*.

I

At *Worcester* great Gods goodness to the Nation
It was a *Conquest* Your bare *Preservation*.
When 'midst Your fiercest foes on every side
For your escape God did a *LANE* provide ;
They saw You gone, but whether could not tell,
Star-Staring, though they ask'd both *Heaven & Hell*.

.

XXIV

Your SELF'S the *Ship* return'd from *forreign Trading*,
England's Your *Port*, Experience the *Lading*,
God is the *Pilot* ; & now richly fraught,
Unto the *Port* the *Ship* is safely brought :
What's *dear* to You, is to Your Subjects *cheap*,
You sow'd with *pain*, what we with *pleasure* reap.

The Royal Miracle

XXV

The *Good-made Laws* by you are now *made Good*,
The *Prince* and *Peoples* right both understood,
Both being Bank'd in their respective Station,
No fear hereafter of an Inundation.
Oppression, the KING'S-EVIL, long indur'd
By others caus'd, by YOU alone is cur'd."

The visitor to Worcester will certainly find that the outward and visible signs of the events of September, 1651, are, after the lapse of over two centuries and a half, more abundant than he would expect. The Commandery, a few paces beyond the buried remains of one of the towers of Sidbury Gate, retains most of the features it possessed when that gallant gentleman William, Duke of Hamilton, was brought there to die ; traces of the "clap-gate" through which Charles got once more outside the walls to set out on his six weeks' wanderings are still discernible ; portions of the city wall have survived both the "sighting" of the Cromwellians and the ravages of time, and the outlines of "Fort Royal" are carefully preserved by their new owner. Mr. F. J. Spackman, the energetic Secretary of the Worcestershire Naturalists' Club, makes out a good case in favour of the King having inhabited the now demolished Deanery during the latter part of August, 1651,* but he cannot altogether convince Mr. Willis Bund that such was the fact. The latter, however, is disposed to admit that an officers' mess on a large scale must have been located in the Guesten Hall, which in 1651 formed part of the old Deanery (formerly the Prior's house) on the southern side of the Cathedral.

The Prior's House, to which the Guesten Hall was attached, was built in 1225 by William de Bedeford, the twenty-third Prior. At the Reformation it was allotted as a residence to the Dean. There is a full description of it in the Parliamentary Survey made a year before

* See Appendix II, p. 248.

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the Battle of Worcester. It was pulled down in 1845, and an arrangement was made for the Dean to occupy the old episcopal palace to the north of the Cathedral, the Bishop taking up his abode at Hartlebury Castle. Mr. Spackman observes that :

“ The Deanery (Priory) would be in every way the most convenient place in Worcester in which the King could lodge. It was commodious. Not only the King, but his staff officers also could find quarters there. There was ample accommodation for stores. The main entrance to it was guarded by the Edgar Tower, a gate-house built by King John in 1204, and still existing. It was within a short distance of the Sidbury Gate which was overlooked by the Fort Royal. That building therefore would be very convenient for the King. It would even be more convenient than the Bishop's Palace. It would be better guarded. It would be nearer the Sidbury Gate, and would have an alternative approach which the Bishop's Palace would not have.”

Quite apart from the vexed question of the Deanery as opposed to the generally accepted “ King's House ” or “ Lodging ” in connection with King Charles's fortnight's stay in Worcester, the accounts brought to light by Mr. Spackman are exceedingly interesting.

An entry of 1665 refers to a charge made for wine on the occasion of a visit paid to Worcester by the brothers Penderel, the heroes of the Royal Oak,* who were, it seems, sumptuously entertained at the Guildhall. The name is usually spelled as now given, but in the Worcester archives it is shortened to “ Penrell.”† Mr. James Penderel-Brodhurst, one of the co-heirs to the Penderel Pension, secured to the descendants of the “ Faithful Brothers ” in perpetuity by Charles II after the Restoration, says : “ It is not the fact that all contemporary documents spell the name ‘ Pendrill.’ The Letters Patent give it as Pendrell, and that is the official spelling of the ‘ Pendrell Trust.’ But Blount, who wrote the principal ‘ Boscobel

* See Appendix II, p. 249.

† Mr. Charles Pendrill of Brockley, who claims descent from William, the eldest of the “ Faithful Brothers,” insists strongly on the correctness of his own version of the family name. In support of his contention he points to the fact that it is so given in contemporary documents, but on the fly-leaf of a copy of Gamidge's *Boscobel* (Worcester, 1769) it is written Pendrell.

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Tract' in 1660, gives it as Penderel, and it seems that is the most defensible form. The name has even been spelled 'Panderel,' and I have heard people in Staffordshire pronounce it that way, just as the rustics in the neighbourhood still say 'Bascobel,' and on William Penderel's tomb at Whiteladies we have it as 'Baskabell.'" Mr. Penderel-Brodhurst and his son Mr. Bernard Penderel-Brodhurst were both present at Whiteladies and Boscobel on September 3, 1911. It is interesting to note that descendants of all the six original pensioners are still in receipt of the modest income secured to them by the central figure of the adventures of September 3-7, 1651.*

Mr. J. W. Willis Bund has given me the following information as to the burial of William, Duke of Hamilton, who died of the wounds he had received on September 3 at the Commandery, now in possession of Mr. Joseph Littlebury. "The body of the Duke," he writes, "appears to have been wrapped up in lead just as if it had been rolled round with sheet lead or lead paper, and you could see that it was a corpse wrapped up. It was placed in this state in a grave dug in the Cathedral on the north side of the altar, and within the rails. There was no coffin. The body thus wrapped up was seen during some excavations made on the spot, and a piece of the leaden wrapping broken off by a pick-axe." No monument to this gallant soldier exists at Worcester, and it is to be hoped that the Dean and Chapter will see their way to allow this strange omission to be repaired.

We now come to the episode of the Royal Oak, which has

* The Penderel Pensions in 1912 are thus apportioned:—*Descendants of William Penderel*: Henry Robinson Moss, Mrs. Helen Mary Walsh, Mrs. Ada Alice Helen Jones, Mrs. Frances Emily Pring, Mrs. Nelly Crosby Price, Mrs. Agnes Ann Yeomens, Mr. William Rice. *Descendants of John Penderel*: Miss Florence Penderel, Robert MacLaren. *Descendants of Humphrey Penderel*: Mr. James Penderel-Brodhurst, Mr. John Ambrose Penderel-Gould. *Descendants of George Penderel*: Mr. George Washington Penderel, an American citizen. *Descendants of Francis Yates*: Mrs. Frances Julie Florence Greenwood; Dr. Thomas Walker of New Brunswick, Mrs. Emily Andrews and C. E. Adlam. The late M. Waddington, French Ambassador at the Court of St. James's, was also a Penderel descendant.



WILLIAM, DUKE OF HAMILTON, WHO DIED OF HIS WOUNDS AT THE
 COMMANDERY, WORCESTER, SEPTEMBER 12, 1651, AND WAS BURIED
 NEAR THE ALTAR IN THE CHOIR OF WORCESTER CATHEDRAL

(After engraving by S. White)

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exercised so powerful a fascination over the minds of men and women in every station of life all over the world ever since its occurrence, or, at any rate, from the time when the Restoration of 1660 made the concealment of Charles by the Penderels the subject of ballads and broadsides innumerable. Not only have editions of Blount's "Boscobel" appeared at intervals during the whole of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but at least three collections of kindred publications relating to the various incidents associated with the "Flight of the King" have achieved considerable success. The first edition of Mr. Allan Fea's* interesting, but by no means exhaustive, work, although produced as recently as 1897, is now out of print. Mr. Fea of necessity left a large number of contemporary tracts and broadsheets—amongst them *Whiteladies*, the *Miraculum Basilikon*, the Turk's Head broadside and a number of interesting ballads—still to be republished. It is in the fugitive verses of 1660, stilted in style and for the most part fulsome in their exuberance, that the cult of the Royal Oak is most strongly reflected. The veritable deluge of Boscobelian literature which signalled the year of the Restoration and that of the subsequent Coronation, makes me think that much of it must have been prepared beforehand with a view to its use at the psychological moment, for some time felt to be inevitable. Sir William Davenant's "Poem upon his Sacred Majestie's Most Happy Return to his Dominions," was printed in 1660 for Henry Herringham and sold in the shop at the "signe of the Anchor on the Lower Walk in the New Exchange." In it we find the following lines :—

"The honour you near Severn's Banks obtain'd,
Did make the Victors lose by what they gain'd,
When you reclaim'd their malice, who with shame
Blush't that they *kept* your *Realms*,
Yet gave you *fame*."

* See Bibliography, pp. 308-9.

† *The Flight of the King*, by Allan Fea. John Lane, The Bodley Head, London and New York, 1897.

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William Penderel quickly became one of the heroes of the hour, and was feasted at Whitehall as sumptuously as at Worcester. Under a very rare portrait of him now in the Sutherland Collection at Oxford were these verses :—

“The Royal Oak

His face you see, Now breifly heare the Rest ;	To shelter that great Prince with Rage pursu'd
How well he serv'd his Prince in flight distress'd	The Nutthook reaching up his Homely fare
Twas He whose Houshold did Combine In Pious Care to save THE ROYAL LINE	Supply'd the want of Waiters standing Bare :
An Oake was thought most safe, from what could prove	While busie Wife & Children standing gather wood
More luckie that the sacred tree to Jove See where the Hen-roost Ladder stands by that,	To dress the sheep prepar'd for Better food
The Mighty Monarch climb'd the Boughs of State	Thus many Oakes defend the British Maine
Where Noble Carlos lent his Manlike knee	But one preserv'd the BRITISH SOVER- AIGNE
The last support of fainting Majestie, And Nature's Tapestrie was the onely shroud	Pendrill thy name will shine in History Brighter then their's, whose hopittality Disguised Deitys hath entertayn'd For there was reall t'other Poets faynd.”

On August 16, 1660, one Rachel Jevon presented to King Charles with her own hand a copy of her *Exultationis Carmen*. In it the “shady woods & groves” are invited to disport themselves on seeing

“ . . . the Royal Oak to them advance
While Nymphs resound, O thrice, thrice happy they !
Who have the Honour, their faint limbs to lay
Under the shadow of th' illustrious Oak
Expanded, to depell from Saints the Stroak
Of Tyrant Tempests. . . . ”

Several other ballads are now reprinted from the contemporary

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broadsheets in the British Museum and the Bodleian Library.* In one instance the text has been translated from the German.†

There was little or nothing in common between the dashing cavalier of 1651 and the selfish, pleasure-loving King of 1660 and after. The popularity of the Royal Oak, however, proved more enduring than that of the sovereign who found safety amongst its foliage. As late as 1683 we come across "*The Triumphs of Royalty in the Person of King Charles II.* A poem by Thomas Heynes. Printed for *W Freeman*, over against the *Devil's Tavern* near *Temple Bar*." Heynes writes :—

"Blessed be the Oak, let it for ever be
Like Aaron's holy Rod a budding Tree.
Which for this hour within its aged Nest
Preserv'd him from the raping Vultures' quest."

That the image of the Royal Oak became the approved symbol of British loyalty to the Throne is not astonishing, for was it not intimately associated with examples of personal devotion without a parallel in the history of the nation ?

Between September 3 and October 15, 1651, the identity of the fugitive sovereign became known either by accident or design to a vast number of persons, but neither the lavish reward offered by Parliament, nor the threats of condign punishment which accompanied it, could tempt sterling men and women like the innkeepers at Charmouth, Broadwindsor, Mere, Salisbury, and Brighton to betray him. In the nineteenth century Walter Scott, William Harrison Ainsworth and Agnes Strickland sought inspiration in the old-world story of the Royal Oak, taking full advantage of poetic licence both in their verses and novels. At the beginning of the eighteenth century Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, raised a hornets' nest about her ears by rooting up a sapling of the parent Boscobel Oak, which

* See pp. 213, 219, 223.

† See p. 207.

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had been planted in London. This called forth a shower of epigrams such as

“*The Royal Sapling Oak*

“ Whilst Sarah from the royal ground,
Roots up the royal oak,
The sapling, groaning from the wound,
Thus to the siren spoke ;
‘ Ah ! may the omen kindly fail,
For poor Britannia’s good ;
Or else not only me you fell,
But *her*, who owns the wood.’ ”

A second began thus :—

“ Be cautious, madame, how you thus provoke
That sturdy plant, the second royal oak ;
For should you fell it, or remove it hence,
When dead it may revenge the vile offence.”

The third and the severest of all opens thus :—

“ Why dost thou root me up, ungrateful hand ?
My father saved the king who saved the land.”

.

And ends,

“ As my tall parent, when he bravely stood
The monarch’s safeguard in the trembling wood,
I know not which would prove the next good thing,
To hang up traitors, or preserve a king.”

In treating of this incident Miss Strickland says :—*

“ The English people have always been passionately fond of the historical circumstance of their king’s preservation in their national tree. To this hour, there is not a town in England, and scarcely a village, but bears some memorial of ‘ the royal oak ’ in the only pictorial indication that pertains to the people, which is, alas ! but in the signs of their drinking-houses. It was in vain that, for

* *Lives of the Queens of England*, Vol VIII, p. 297.

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wearing oak-leaves in their hats, English peasants were doomed, in the reigns of William and Mary, and at this period of that of their sister Anne, to incarceration in the village stocks. In vain did 'singing of the blithesome song of the 29th of May' subject the songster to the pains and penalties of clownish treason, the crime being expiated in the stocks and at the whipping-post. The song had got possession of the English heart, nor could the above pains and penalties hinder this refrain from being shouted, even in the stocks, of

‘ Old Pendrill, the miller, at the risk of his blood,
Hid the king of the isle in the king of the wood.’ ”

David Cox painted a sign for the “Royal Oak” at Bettws-y-Coed, and George Morland is credited with doing the same for some tavern nearer London. There is a third elaborately painted swinging-sign to be seen at Winsford in the Exmoor country, where a “Royal Oak” inn has flourished almost from time immemorial. In this case the picture has every appearance of age, but “mine host” confesses that “it is only a copy of the original by a distinguished artist.” *

“Charles the Second’s Head,” write Messrs. Larwood and Hotten,† “swung at the door of a ‘music-house’ for seafaring men and others, in Stepney, at the end of the seventeenth century. . . . At the present day, that king’s memory is still kept alive on a signboard in Herbert Street, Hoxton, under the name of the Merry Monarch. To his miraculous escape at Boscobel we owe the Royal Oak, which notwithstanding a lapse of two and a half centuries and a change of dynasty, still continues a very favourite sign. In London alone it occurs in twenty-six public houses, exclusive of beer-houses, coffee-houses, etc. Sometimes it is called ‘King Charles in the Oak,’ as at Willen Hall, Warwickshire. The Royal Oak, soon after the Restoration, became a favourite with the shops of London; tokens of some half a dozen houses bearing that sign are extant. What is rather more curious is that, not many years since, one of the descendants of trusty Dick Penderel kept an inn at Lewes, in Sussex, called the Royal Oak.”

Mr. Allan Fea has, in both his books relating to the Flight of the King, dealt at considerable length with the life-stories of the two

* *Devon, the County of Castles*. 1908. Published by the G.W.R. p. 147.

† *History of Sign Boards*, 1898, pp. 49–50.

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devoted women, Jane Lane and Juliana Coningsby, who accompanied the fugitive King during his wanderings, the first from Bentley to Bristol, the second from Trent through West Dorset and afterwards to Heale House.* I am indebted to Miss M. L. Arthur for the discovery of a very interesting letter written, after the Restoration, by Jane Lane to Charles II. It is bound up in a volume of letters addressed to the King by his mother and sisters.† It appears that the heroine of September, 1651, had some difficulty in steering clear of the intrigues which proved fatal to so many of Charles's early friends.

“ May it Pleas your Ma^{tie}

I most humble beg your Ma^{ties} pardon in a fault I have comited by Mistake My Lord Newbrough having sent me a libell thatt was sent to My Lord Taff I didnt first understand that your Ma^{tie} had comanded him toe doe it and I tould the Queene soe but since I have read the letter over a gane I find it to be My Lord Taff that sent it me I make no question but your Ma^{tie} heard the good caretter the auther of it-has given mee but I being not gilty I laugh at thar follow [their folly?] but I see they are very [illegible] to mee why I know not I humble beseech your Ma^{tie} toe beleeve me in this that to my Knowledg I never did her the least rong in my life nor did I perswade the Queene to send her a way it was her owne ill tonge that was the cause of it and that most in the hous knows to be true I dare not truble your Ma^{tie} with the long relation of this ogleiy bisness but I hope all that they can doe or say‡ of mee will not lessen mee in your Ma^{ties} favour and good opinion which shall be the study of my wholl to preserve
being

Your Ma^{ties}

Most humblest Most obedient

Subiect and Seruant

JANE LANE

Ma 2th

Superscribed : ffor his Ma^{tie}

Endorsed (by King Charles) : Mis Jane Lane”

* See also *Lane of Bentley Hall*, by Henry Murray Lane (Chester Herald). Elliot Stock. London, 1898. The subject of the Lanes was also dealt with by the late General Wrottesley in an incomplete contribution to the *History of Staffordshire*. William Salt, Archæological Society, pp. 141-204. 1910.

† Lambeth Palace MSS., Vol. 646. Item 59.

‡ Insertion of “or say” as in original.



CHARLES II AS A BOY

(From the rare mezzotint by W. Vaillant, in possession of the writer)

Historical Introduction

As in the case of the Penderels of Boscobel, the race from which Jane Lane sprang is still well represented after the lapse of more than two and a half centuries. Major-General Ronald B. Lane of Carlton Hall, Saxmundham, is "a direct descendant of Colonel Lane, of Bentley, the father of Jane Lane." In connection with last year's Carolean Pilgrimage he wrote to the Mayor of Brighton :—

"I think perhaps you may like to know that the Lanes bear on their coat of arms the Royal Lions (leopards really) of England and that our device is *Garde le Roy*. . . . I believe that the Lanes are the only Commoners who have ever had the privilege of bearing the Royal Lions granted to them,* a privilege which in days past was of great advantage in exempting my ancestors from paying taxes on Armorial Bearings. Now, needless to say, no such advantage attaches to it! I have also in my possession that Charles II gave to Jane Lane, at Bristol, when he parted from her. After the Restoration he gave her a very beautiful watch which became an heirloom to be retained, during her life, by the eldest Lane daughter in the direct line; this watch was last possessed by a Lane who married Squire Lucy of Charlecote and should now be the property of my sister, Lady Northbourne, but most unfortunately it was stolen by burglars from Charlecote between 50 and 60 years ago. The thieves were caught, but confessed to having had the watch melted down at once."

* Mr. J. Horace Round points out that the whole of the armorial grant to the Lanes is printed by Mr. H. M. Lane. It is also treated of in the *Genealogical Magazine*, I, 201-7; 278-282. For some reason or other the grant was not made until 12 July, 1677. Mr. Round thinks General R. B. Lane's assertion as to the unique character of the augmentation is correct. It is, however, important to point out that the Lanes have never borne the royal arms, even on a canton, but only that portion of them which represents England. The Lane augmentation is described in the grant as "three Lyons passant guardant or in a canton gules," but not as the arms of England, although this is what it was. Mr. A. C. Fox Davies says "a grant of 'a canton of England,' i.e. the three lions of England, was made to the Lane family after the Restoration. They are the only family I ever heard of who has a gift of the *three* lions, but many have received grants of *one*, e.g. the Wolfes of Madeley. There were several grants made for services after the Battle of Worcester, e.g. Lane, Newman, Carlos and Whitgreave. The Lanes have always maintained that their grant exempted them from taxation. The Act exempts the Royal Arms, but the Lanes only use a part of the Royal Arms, and those as a canton on the arms of Lane. I think, therefore, the claim to exemption unfounded, but I understand payment is not enforced from them, although no legal decision justifying their claim exists."

The Royal Miracle

On the evening of September 10, 1651, Charles and the companions of his flight found shelter in the abode of Mr. John Tombs,* of Long (or "Dancing") Marston, where the familiar episode of the cook-maid and the spit occurred. The house in question is situated on the outskirts of a straggling village, and still belongs to descendants of the loyal Tombs, its present owners being Commander Carrow, R.N., and Mrs. Carrow, the latter a Tombs descendant and the daughter of the late Mr. Fisher Tomes. The historic spit is carefully preserved in the ancient kitchen now converted into a parlour. Mr. Allan Fea speaks of the Long Marston House as "Old King Charles," but the more familiar name by which it is known is "King's Lodge" or "King Charles's Lodge." The name "Will Jackson" by which the King was known there stuck to him until 1660, and was constantly used in secret correspondence. At Boscobel Charles had been plain "Will Jones." For some reason the name of Jackson was occasionally given to Cromwell.

An entirely new front has been given to "The Sun" Inn at Cirencester, where Charles and his companions spent the night of September 11-12, 1651, but an engraving of the old hostelry, as it was

* Members of the Tombs (or Tomes) family are very numerous both in England and America. In the index of Gloucestershire wills will be found one of a Tombs of Long Marston as far back as 1546. The name occurs frequently in the registers there from 1589 onwards, but is frequently given as Tomes, Tommes, Tombes or Tims. Francis Tomes, a Quaker, was residing near Albemarle Sound, North Carolina, in 1672. Mention is made of another Quaker, Edward Tombs, a quarter of a century later. In later years the American Tombs seem to have spread out toward the west, and some of them became quite prominent, one of them giving his name to the well-known New York prison. Brigadier General Robert Tombs was Confederate Secretary of State in 1861. Sir Henry Tombs, v.c., k.c.b., was descended from the Long Marston Tombs of 1651 through his grandson William, who settled at Coates. Very exhaustive researches into the Tombs genealogy have been made by Mr. R. C. Tombs, i.s.o., of Westbury-on-Trym, and his son, Mr. P. M. Gainsford Tombs, of "Boscobel," Carshalton, who have furnished me with much valuable and interesting information. A long article on the Cotswold Tombs by Mr. R. C. Tombs appeared in the *Wiltshire and Gloucestershire Standard* of April 10, 1909. Other particulars will be found in the *Evesham Journal* of May 13 and May 29, 1909.

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a few years ago, still exists. The room associated with the King's visit is shown to visitors. The landmarks connected with the sojourn of Charles at Abbots Leigh, near Bristol—September 12–16—are exceedingly interesting, although nothing remains of the ancient home of the Nortons.* In the chancel of Abbots Leigh Church is still to be seen the ornate marble monument of Sir George Norton, the King's host, and his wife Dame Francis. The bewigged busts of a later period cannot be regarded as attempts at serious portraiture. On the Norton tomb is the following inscription :—

“Near this place lies interred the body of S^r George Norton of Abbots Leigh in y^e County of Somerset, son of S^r George Norton of y^e same place. So Eminently Loyal in hazarding both his life & fortune in concealing in his house the sacred person of our late Most Sovereign King Charles y^e second till he could provide means for his escape into France.”

The monument was erected in 1715, but the will of Sir George Norton was dated February 28, 1667, and proved on March 12, 1667–8. [*Somerset Wills*. London, 1887.] In the unique broadside of 1660, possibly the earliest account of the Royal Wanderings published after the Restoration, Charles is said to have hoped to escape from a place called “*Crods and Peet* hard by *Bristoll*.”† I think the Rev. James S. Hill, of Stowey Rectory, Clutton, has satisfactorily identified the scene of the King's first great disappointment. In response to a query from me he thus writes to the Editor of the *Bristol Times and Mirror* :—

“In the place-names you will find that Pill which is “hard by Bristol” is called Crokanpill, or Crokenpill; and at the end of the sixteenth and in the seventeenth century (1601) it is called Crocke and Pill, and Croch and Pill. Other spellings are Crokerne Pill, Crakers Pill, Crookham Pill, and ‘Crokers Pill, now Eston-in-Gordon’ (in a will). Now, I suggest to you that ‘Crods and Peet,’ concerning

* See “King Charles II at Abbots-Leigh,” by the late Professor James Rowley. *Proceedings of the Clifton Antiquarian Society*, 1906–7, pp. 93–113.

† See p. 81.

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which Mr. Broadley inquires, is a mis-spelling, a mis-reading, or a mis-printing of some compositor (or rather de-compositor), for 'Crok and Peel.' A bad 'k' could easily be read as a 'd,' and an uncrossed 't' mistaken for 'l.' The de-compositor is capable of grander transformations, as when a 'sucking calf' appears as a 'smoking calf.' Pill is the very place for this Caroline embarkation. 'Charles the Second at Pill' is interesting. Crods and Peet, anyhow, is a startling corruption."

Mr. Hill kindly sent me a sketch map showing how convenient Pill would be for the contemplated adventure. It is still the abode of pilots, and only a short walk from Abbots Leigh.* From Pill boats and yawls constantly ply in the Channel, and the commercial importance of the place was probably greater in Carolean times than it is now.

Of the entire six weeks covered by the flight of Charles from Worcester to Brighton, no less than seventeen days were spent at Trent. The "hiding-place" (ready for the King's occupation if necessity arose) has survived a whole series of structural alterations which have taken place in the interesting Manor House, the environment of which remains pretty much as it was in 1651. The church has undergone very little change. The tuneful bells which Charles listened to as they rang in celebration of the good news from Worcester are still heard Sunday after Sunday. In the wall of the side-chapel, side by side, are two modest monuments thus inscribed:—

HERE LYETH
THE BODY OF
FRANCIS WYND-
-HAM, BARONET
WHO DIED THE 3
DAY OF JULY
A D 1676

D^M A. W.
OB^V JULY 19^O
AN^O D^M
1698

* Mr. Mathew Mathews, of Bristol, like Mr. Hill, thinks "pill" to be the equivalent of the Welsh pwell=pool. He, however, locates Cogan-pill as situated between Cardiff and Penarth on the Bristol Channel. In 1651 the family of Mathew, distinguished for their loyalty to the Crown, resided there.

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It was of the latter that Samuel Pepys wrote :—

“Ann Wyndham was nurse to Chas. II when Prince of Wales, and while she lived governed him and everything else as a Minister of State, the old King putting mighty weight and trust in her.”

On the fly-leaf of the Trent registers, after a long list of Gerards, occur the following Wyndham or Windham entries :—

“1. . . . Windham, daughter of ffrancis Windham Esq. and Ann his wife was borne the 3rd of January and baptised the —th of January 1651.”

“2. . . . Windham daughter of ffrancis Wyndham Esq. & Ann his wife was buried the 5th of January 1667.”

1669

“II : Mr. Gerard Wyndham y^e son of Mr. Francis Wyndham and Anne his wife was buried February y^e fourteenth.”

1676

“III : S^r ffrancis Wyndham K^{nt} buried July y^e 15.”

1698

“IV : The Lady Anne Wyndham Relict of S^r Fran. Wyndham Knight Baron^t. was buri'd July 25 — 98.”

1707

“V : The Honor^{ble} Lieut Gen^l Hugh Wyndham died at Valentia in Spain Sept^r 30 1706 was brought & buried at Trent May 31 1707.”

1712

“VI : Madam Rachel Wyndham was brought down from London & buried Decemb^r y^e 4th — 1712.”

“VII : S^r Francis Wyndham K^{nt} Baro^t was Buried April y^e 4th — 1716.”

1718

“VIII : Margaret Bond an Ancient serv^t. in S^r Francis Wyndham's Family dyed in y^e 98th year of her Age, and was buried Nov^r y^e 9th — 1718.”

It results from these memoranda that although the unnamed daughter of Francis and Anne Wyndham was only nine months old in September, 1651, the mother was 47, and the “ancient servant,” Margaret

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Bond, who died in George I's reign, 31. Bond is not mentioned in Anne Wyndham's *Clastrum Regale Reseratum*. Mr. A. M. Gerrard, of Westward Ho, Wake Green Road, Birmingham, sends me the following note on his ancestral kinswoman, the intrepid *châtelaine* of Trent:—

“Anne Wyndham's father Thomas Gerard was of an old Purbeck stock, but claimed descent from the noble family of the Gerards of Lancashire, which descent the Dorset historian, Hutchins, says is highly improbable. These Gerards were far more likely out of the Domesday family who held the manors of Lopen and Broctune, and later Camville, all in Somerset; later still they were at Gerrardiston, in Wilts, and Sandford Arcas and Parnham, near Beaminster, Dorset. A Gerard of this stock about 1350 owned the manor of Crichel Lucy. A Richard of this line was M.P. for Wareham 1369. From this time onward no less than ten Gerards were M.P.'s for Wareham, Weymouth and Dorchester.

Thos. Gerard of Trent came out of one of these Purbeck families, William his father, of Friars Maine, inheriting Trent by marriage with Mary Storke, and their son Thomas was the father of Anne Wyndham.”

The adventures of Charles II in West Dorset began very early on the morning of Monday, September 22; they ended in his return to Trent somewhat later in the forenoon of Wednesday, September 24. Setting out from Trent before dawn they reached “Ellesdon's Farm”—the “house in the hills” between Axminster and Charmouth—quite early in the afternoon.* It has long been a tradition that during the three days' journey the King visited Coaxdon Manor, in Chardstock parish, the ancestral home of the Cogans, where he owed escape solely to the quick thought and courage of the lady of the house.† On reaching the Continent he sent a gold chain to his fair preserver, who had hidden him beneath her farthingale. The story is strongly supported

* See *post*, p. 158 and p. 176.

† See *King Charles II and the Cogans. A Missing Chapter in the Boscobel Tracts*. London, Elliot Stock. *Charles II at Coaxdon Hall*, by Hugh Norris. Reprinted from *Somerset and Dorset Notes and Queries*, 1893. Mr. J. S. Udal's paper in the *Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club* (Vol. VIII, pp. 9–28) may also be referred to.

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by the late Mr. Hugh Norris, and the tradition is not merely a local one, but is set out at length in Mr. Walter Wilson's life of Defoe.* The chain passed to Mrs. Elizabeth Conway through her grandmother Elizabeth Cogan, and was, it is said, exchanged by her with a Jew pedlar for sundry articles of silver plate, including two silver mugs now in possession of her descendants, Mrs. Henry Tatham and Mr. J. Cogan Conway.

Mr. R. R. Conway, of Weymouth College, the great-great-grandson of the last heir to the Carolean chain, points out that if Charles, on his way from Trent to the sea-coast, "avoided Yeovil by keeping to the north, and struck the fosse-way which runs right through Coaxdon, a cross-country ride thence to Monkton Wyld ('Ellesdon's Farm') would only be $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles." This is quite true, but on the other hand it must be remembered that there is not the faintest allusion to the Coaxdon adventure either in Anne Wyndham's narrative, the letters of Ellesdon and Alford, or the *Miraculum Basilikon*.

The Ellesdons, the Alfords and the Wesleys all figure in the early records of Lyme-of-the-King, from which place Charles vainly hoped to escape to France, and Charles's son, the Duke of Monmouth, thirty-four years later, set out on the fatal enterprise which cost him his life. If the humorous author of the *Miraculum* is to be trusted, the fugitive monarch owed his preservation on the morning of September 23, 1651, to the "long-windedness" displayed by Benjamin Wesley (he gives the name as Westley), "the puny, pittiful, dwindling parson of that place,"† in his family devotions, concerning which Mistress Wyndham observes with evident satisfaction that "long prayers, proceeding from a traitorous heart, once did good, but by accident only."‡ Benjamin Wesley was the great-grandfather of the Apostle of Methodism, and a great deal of new information both as to

* See *Life and Times of Daniel Defoe*, by Walter Wilson. London, 1830. Vol. I, p. 112.

† See *post*, VI, p. 136.

‡ See *post*, VII, p. 163.

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himself and his immediate descendants will be found in the *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society*.^{*} Wesley was deprived of his benefice after the Restoration, and subsequently became an itinerant preacher and medical practitioner. He died at Lyme Regis, and was buried there on 15 February, 1670. His widow Mary was interred there on 13 July in the following year. While still minister at Charmouth, he was "presented" by the Jury of the Court Leet (2 October, 1654) for neglect, "causing annoyance of the highways."[†]

Members of the Ellesdon family were Mayors of Lyme Regis seven times between 1521 and 1651, in which year Anthony Ellesdon held the office. In the ancient and interesting church of Lyme Regis is a brass in memory of four of them with the family arms and the lines:—

"Men pious just & wise, each many a yeere
The helme of this towne's government did steere
Beyond base envious reach, whose endless name
Lives in all those that emulate their fame."

William Ellesdon, who subsequently furnished Lord Clarendon with the detailed account of his share in the events of September 22–3, 1651, had two sons, Anthony and Charles (the latter, born on June, 1661, named after the King). Anthony Ellesdon lived till 13 November, 1737, having survived his brother Charles thirty-two years. There is a monument to him in the new church at Charmouth, removed thither from the older building. His mother and wife as well as his brother Charles were buried in the same vault with Anthony.

Richard Alford was on five occasions elected Mayor of Lyme before 1632, when he held the office for the last time. The "Captain" Alford, whose curious letter, bitterly attacking the good faith of his

^{*} See Vols. V (1906), pp. 20–23, and VI (1908), pp. 1–4.

[†] The Rev. Joseph Ogle, who now lives at the "Manse" (formerly the "Queen's Head"), where Charles II and his friends passed the night of September 22–23, 1651, contributed a very interesting article on the subject of Benjamin Wesley and the landlady of the "Queen's Head" entitled "The Story of a King's Kiss" to the *Christian World* of June 16, 1910.



*Charles² was proclaimed King of gr.^t Britain
France & Ireland at Worcester: 23^d Aug: 1651.*

CHARLES II IN 1651

(From the original in the British Museum)

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fellow-townsmen Ellesdon, will be found amongst the documents now reprinted, is none other than the Gregory Alford who fought against the Parliament and compounded for his estates at £10, when it is quite possible the Ellesdons were "trimmers." After the Restoration he showed great severity to dissenters. It was during his second mayoralty* that Monmouth landed on Lyme Cobb. The family soon afterwards quitted the town.

It was still dark on the morning of Wednesday, Sept. 24, when Charles, Lord Wilmot, Colonel Wyndham, Juliana Coningsby, and Peters left the "George" at Broadwindsor for Trent Manor. It is quite impossible that any such detour could have been made on that day as would have allowed them to visit Coaxdon Manor. Having regained his comfortable quarters as the guest of Francis and Anne Wyndham, Charles remained there without exciting suspicion until the morning of Monday, 6 October, when he set out on his journey to Heale House by way of Mere. That night he arrived safely at Heale House on Salisbury Plain, not far from Stonehenge and close to the banks of the Avon. The seventeenth-century house has now entirely disappeared, although an effort has been made to preserve the "closet" associated by tradition with Charles's presence at Heale, where Mrs. Hyde proved as staunch a friend to royalty in distress as Mrs. (afterwards Lady) Wyndham. The present owner of this picturesque estate is now building a new mansion on seventeenth-century lines, and it is from him that the ground-plan of the 1651 house, now reproduced, has been obtained. At Heale Charles found an asylum until Monday morning, 13 September, when he rode under the conduct of Colonel Gunter or Gounter of Racton to the "George" at Warnford, where he dined, and thence to Hambleton House, where he passed the night as the guest of Mr. and Mrs. Symons or Symonds.† There is no foundation for the legend

* Gregory Alford first served the office of Mayor in 1663.

† Mr. J. Horace Round, who has given me invaluable assistance in connection with King Charles's brief sojourn in Sussex, calls my attention to the mine of information con-

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that the King accompanied the Colonel to his own residence at Racton, and the "site" indicated there must be regarded as one of the countless apocryphal "King's hiding-places," which range from Barnstable on the west to Woodstock on the north, and Ovingdean Grange on the east.* Many interesting Gunter tombs are to be seen in the church at Racton, including that of the "most loyal and prudent gentleman" who safely conducted the fugitive King from the neighbourhood of Heale House to the "George" at Brighthelmstone. As regards the

cerning Racton and the Gunters contained in the illustrated article by the Rev. Fred H. Arnold, LL.D., published in Vol. XXIII of the *Sussex Archaeological Collections*. Amongst the illustrations given is one of the punchbowl presented by Charles to Mrs. Symonds after the Restoration, and for a long time in possession of her descendants. Ursula Gunter was married to Thomas Symonds at Westbourne, 6 October, 1636. Mr. Round is the senior living representative of the Earl of Rochester, who as Lord Wilmot played an all-important part in the events recorded in these pages [see *The Ancestor*, Vol. XI—October, 1904]. The Symonds bowl now belongs to Captain T. D. Butler, of Hambledon, a village even more celebrated as an aboriginal home of cricket than for its connection with the Flight of the King. Captain Butler informs me that Mr. Symonds's house stood a little outside the village to the south-east side of it, so that in going on to Shoreham a traveller would not have to pass through it. He says: "From Warnford to Broadhalfpenny Down Charles's itinerary is clear. Going by Old Winchester Hill, Chidden Down and Hyden Wood, almost in a straight line, they would scarcely pass a single cottage. The route taken by the King from Broadhalfpenny Down to Mr. Symonds's house, so as to avoid the village, can be easily traced, and is in fact almost unchanged. The house was demolished in 1720. Its site can still be traced. William Symonds, the last male heir, sold the property to Jonathan Conduit about 1708." In the parish registers the name is invariably spelt Symonds. The bowl never belonged to Mr. P. H. Hart, as erroneously stated by the article in the *Sussex Archaeological Collections* above cited. A very good illustration of it is given by Mr. Allan Fea. The name of Thomas Symonds does not figure in the parish record of burials, but a field near the village is still known as "Symonds's Meadow." Although the Symonds family were Royalists, many of the Hambledonians took the other side, and Colonel Norton raised a troop for the Parliament known as "The Hambledon Boys," who were engaged at Cheriton (see Godwin's *Civil War in Hampshire*, 1882).

* It is asserted that according to tradition the King spent some time in a picturesque dwelling still to be seen on Southwick Green and long known as "King Charles's Cottage" and "Bough House." He certainly did not sleep there. He may very well have rested there in the early morning of October 15 after leaving Brighton, while waiting for the tide to float the "Surprise" in Southwick Creek. The presence of a patrol would make it dangerous to embark at Shoreham.

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adventures which on October 14-15, 1651, befell Charles in the Sussex fishing-village, destined before another century and a half had passed away to become one of the most famous watering-places in Europe, and to be intimately associated with the life-story of another "Merry Monarch," the reader will find an abundance of information in the paper read by Mr. Harrison at the conclusion of the Carolean Pilgrimage, as well as in nearly all the tracts and broadsides reprinted in the anthology to which the name of the "Royal Miracle" is given. The chief point of interest centres on the correct identification of the "George," the inn at which the arrangements were made which ended in the escape of the King to France. Much turns on the historical value of an old water-colour sketch now in possession of Mr. William H. Blaber, of Hove, which came from the collection of Mr. George Smith. It bears the following inscription :—

"Ye Kyng's Head Ynn" in y^e West Street at Brighthemstone
in which King Charles passed y^e night before his happy escape
into Fraunce.

From a scarce print in the possession of Bulkeley C. Ricketts
Esq.
Date on the print 1662."

The picture in question has been carefully examined by Mr. J. H. Round, who does not detect any anachronism in it. It may certainly be taken as corroboration of the testimony of Fanny Burney in favour of the West Street "King's Head," nearly opposite which stood the Thrale house, within the memory of persons still living. I believe Mr. Round had not seen the Blaber drawing when he drew up the following note on the subject :—"Mr. F. E. Sawyer has discussed at some length* the identity of 'The George' Inn. He was able to show from the Court Rolls that in 1656 there was an inn called 'The George' in Middle Street, and that the present 'Old King's Head' on

* *Sussex Archæological Collections*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 81-104.

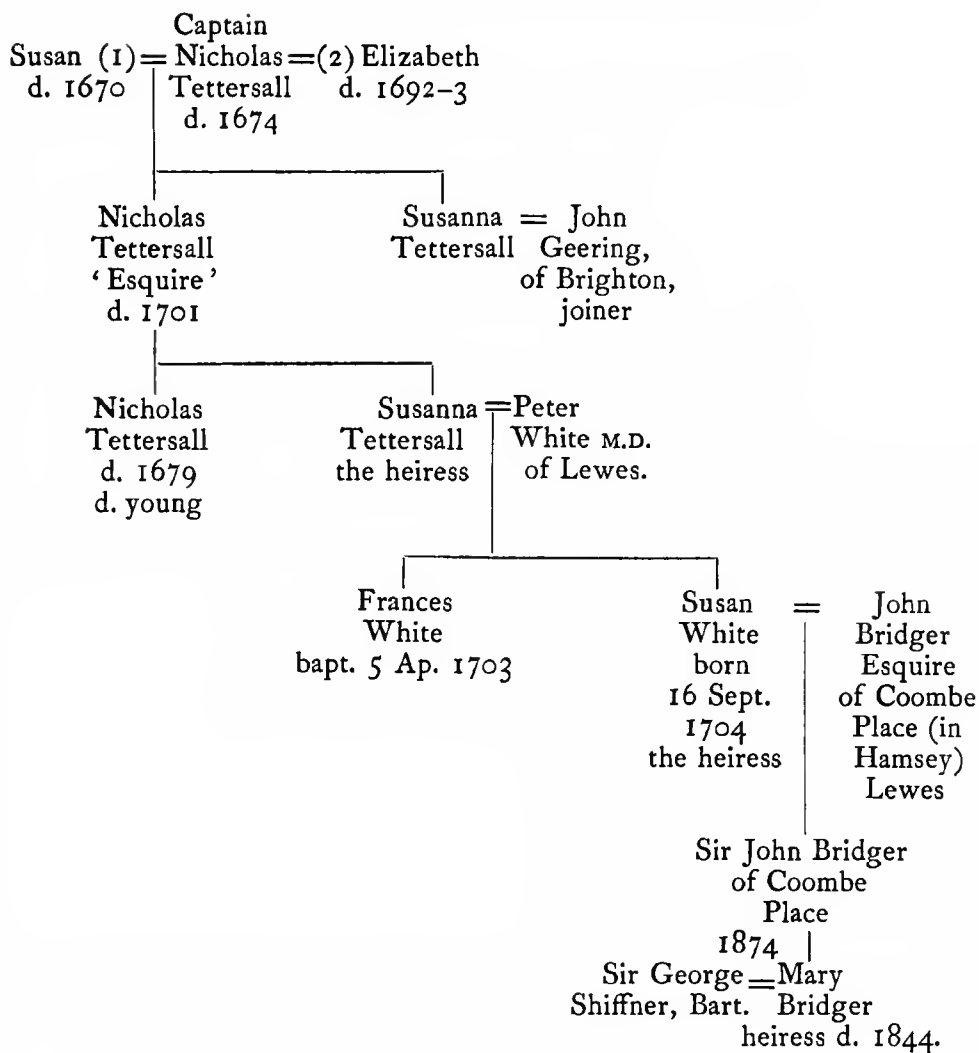
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the western side of the bottom of West Street was not described as an inn till 1754, when it was first called 'The George.' Against this it is urged that the contrary is shown by Mr. Blaber's drawing, corroborated as it is by the statement of Fanny Burney, who stayed at Brighton with Mrs. Thrale in 1779 and 1782 and states that the house "was opposite 'The King's Head,' where Charles II stayed," and speaks of the sign bearing the effigy of "his black-wigged Majesty" being in existence since the Restoration. These two pieces of evidence show that the tradition of the West Street site was accepted in the latter part of the eighteenth century. This is directly at variance with Mr. Sawyer's documentary evidence.

Judging by my own experience of such matters and of the quick growth of erroneous tradition, I suspect that someone who had read that the King had stayed at "The George," and who only found one inn so named at Brighton in the eighteenth century, assumed that this must have been the house, and the portrait of Charles being then put up as a sign, the house would come to be known as "The King's Head" instead of "The George." With regard to the contention raised that, according to Gunter, the horses were taken "the back way to the beach," and that this indicates "The King's Head" being the house, the evidence seems to me to point the other way. "That inn is situated so close to the beach that it could have made little or no difference, but if 'The George' of 1651 was at the upper end of Middle Street the inn-yard might well have had a back entrance into Ship Street (then the 'Hempshares') by which the horses could leave privately.—J. H. R." If a copy of the Bulkeley Ricketts print could be found, it would settle the matter once and for all.

It is impossible to discuss at length other debatable questions which arose out of the reading of Mr. Harrison's paper. Certain claims to descent from Nicholas Tattersall have been put forth, and Mr. J. H. Round, a recognised authority on such matters, has drawn up the following pedigree :—

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Mr. W. Clarkson Wallis called the attention of the Mayor of Brighton to the devotion shown during the voyage across the Channel by the Quaker, Richard Carver, one of Tattersall's or Tattersell's sailors, who, after the Restoration, when the general scramble for rewards was going on, asked only for the release of some of his distressed brethren imprisoned for conscience' sake. The King liberated two, upon which Carver remarked it was "a poor price for a King's ransom." According to Mr. Wallis, the captain of the "Surprise,"

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when High Constable of Brighton, proved "a malignant and unscrupulous persecutor." Be this as it may, it was at the grave of the captain of the "Surprise," in the shadow of St. Nicholas's Church, that the Carolean Pilgrimage of 1911 came to an end.

There is certainly a good deal about Tattersall which is still undiscovered, and the Pilgrimage has apparently re-awakened an interest in the subject. To Mr. H. D. Roberts I am indebted for copies of the following important entries in the Brighton parish registers.

" 1606 Septembr. The first married
Nichollas Tetersolle and
JoanE Peirce
1638 November. The xxviith married
Nichollas Tetersoale, Jnr
and Suzan Cake."*

They apparently record the marriages of the captain of the "Surprise" and his father.

The tomb of King Charles's preserver at Brighton is certainly far more ornate than the rough, inscribed flag-stone which alone marks the last resting-place of the Sovereign he saved in Westminster Abbey. If the satisfactory settlement of some existing doubts concerning the events of 1651, and the bringing to light of facts hitherto unknown connected with the fascinating historical romance happily called the "Flight of the King," result either directly or indirectly from the Carolean Pilgrimage of 1911, it will assuredly not have been undertaken altogether in vain.

A. M. BROADLEY.

The Knapp, Bradpole, Bridport,
March 17, 1912.

* In the Bishop's transcripts of the Brighton registers Mr. Walter C. Renshaw has discovered the baptismal entry of the captain of the "Surprise":

" 1617 Sep 3 Nichollas S. of Nich^s Teterselle bap "



THE TOMBESTONE OF CHARLES II IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY

*(From a photograph taken by permission of the Dean and
Chapter for this work)*

I

White-Ladies

(Reprinted from the copy in possession of A. M. Broadley.)

WHITE-LADIES:

OR

HIS SACRED

MAJESTIES

Most miraculous

Prefervation.

After the

BATTLE

AT

WORCESTER,

September 3. 1651.

Faithfully imparted for the Satisfaction of the
Nation by Eye-witnesses.

By Special Command.

L O N D O N,

Printed for the Author, and are to be sold at
Royal Exchange, and at all other Booksellers.



CHARLES I. KING OF
GREAT BRITAIN

TITLE-PAGE AND FRONTPIECE OF THE COPY OF "WHITE-LADIES" (1660)
IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

To the KINGS Most Excellent Majesty

1 Great Sir

When it was your devout resolve to praise God in the great Congregation for your no less miraculous, preservation, then restauration

2 *When it was reported you would, assume your Royal pen, and write, with Cæsar, your own Commentaries ; or with the Royal prophet your other self ; tell what the Lord hath done for your soul*

3 *When your miraculous escape was an argument of power to convince most, that you are the power over us, ordained of God.*

It was but reasonable that those who were furnished with information in the particulars of that providence should impartially communicate them 1. to the honour of God the author, 2. to your own honour, and 3 to the satisfaction of a whole nation that is very solicitous how the Anointed of the Lord, the breath of their nostrils, escaped being taken in their nets.

And, it is no less reasonable, that such a piece, being attempted, should be dedicated to youre Majesty, that you may now enjoy what you once suffered, that you may with pleasure remember, what you once knew with sorrow.

Olim hæc meminisse juvabit

Something more solemn, Majestique, and elegant, becomes you, but that the ornament of history is naked truth : besides I durst not be Ingenious with your miseries, nor play with your misfortunes.

May your good people, by your gracious permission, understand, what they have hitherto but admired ; that they may speak them to their children, and speak of them, when they sit in their house, when they walk in the way, when they lye down, and rise up.

See Procl.
for keeping
June 28 day of
Thanksgiving.

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Deut. 6 & 11. and I have done offending the publick good, in these minute diversions I have given to your great thoughts, when I have subscribed myself

Your Majesties, most Loyal
Subject, and most humble
Servants

THE PUBLISHER to the READER.

This History comes forth neither too soon, nor too late, nor so far off that the footsteps of truth are worn out, as in some ancient stories, saith one, where the most cunning hunters are at a losse, nor yet so near, that the heels of truth ought to be feared, though he is an unworthy *historian* who overvalueth his own safety to the injury of the present age, the age past and posterity : the impartiality in inquiring the particulars of this providence, which most ages will have much ado to believe, save that wherein it was acted, makes us confident in appeal to all the surviving actors, which I submit to, as judges of our integrity. The *Sybil* brought *Tarquin* some books, and demanded so much for them, which when he refused she burnt half and brought the rest again at the same rate ; but our nation hath been offered the very scraps of this history for great rates, and hath accepted them. How it will now entertain the *Whole* I know not, we could as well have obtruded, lies, as truth, and gained as much by a pamphlet as by an history : the good people will do well to give a kind entertainment to this whole history, least they pay as much for half a one.

When neither 1. birth, whereby he was the *first born* among many brethren, nor 2. the Law of the land, which allows each person his peculiar allotment and possession : Nor 3. a Possession since memory :

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Nor 4, endowments, which, if they were not possessed of ancient Majesty, deserved a new one : Nor 5. when the general wishes of his people could not prevail with *desperate* and *resolved* Usurpers.

His sacred Majesty CHARLES the II (according to the respective articles of the treaty at *Breda*) having arrived in *June* 1650 (not without some danger at sea) at *Spey* in the North of *Scotland*, and being crowned on the first of *January* next ensuing, at *Schone* ; makes use of the Army of 22000 men (raised by his Subjects of Scotland according to agreement) to reduce them. A party in Parliament under the influence of O. C. H. I. etc. Having so hardened us in our *misery*, that his gracious Majesty must *compell* us to be happy, that worth, which kingdoms would have courted, must force its way to a kingdom here. And therefore, he marches with that army, by way of *Carlisle*, to *England* Aug. 1. 51. (in the mean time sending his Royal pardon, from his Camp at *Woodhouse* neer the border ; to all persons, except O. C. H. Ireton, J Bradshaw, J Cooke etc whom mercy itself could not but *punish*) as his harbinger to the whole nation, especially in the City of London, at whose beck lay the whole Kingdom, where its by Shrieff *Tichb's* (1). own hands, as they say, burned, while the *Westmin* Declaration *against his Majesty, and all that adhered to him*, was solemnly proclaimed with beat of Drum, and sound of Trumpet.

In his way, having received a considerable supply from the Renowned *Earl of Derby*, and disputed a passage successfully at *Werrington bridge* : he arrived after 300 Miles march from St Johnstone's, upon the 22 of *August* at *Worcester* ; and was there, proclaimed King of *England, Scotland, France & Ireland &c.* upon the 23 by Mr *Lysens* the *Mayor*, & Mr *Bridges* the Sheriff of that renowned City, upon which day he summoned the Neighbouring Nobility, Gentry, and others, according to a Statute in that case provided, from 16 to 60. to appeare in armes at Pitchcroft on the 26, where according to summons, appeared *F. L. Tolbot*, with 60 horse, Mr. *Touchet*, Sir *J Packington*, Sir *W. Blunt*, Sr *R Clare*, Mr. *Sceldon* of *Bewly*,

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Mr *Washbourne* of *Witchingford* with 40 horse, Mr *Hornyold* with 40 more, Mr *Acton*, Mr *Blunt*, Mr *Knotsford* &c. Notwithstanding which accesse his Majesties Army was conceived not above 12000, especially since the E of *Derby* was defeated by Col *Lilburne* on the 25 Aug near *Wiggan* in *Lancashire*, where the Lord *Widdrington*, Sr T. *Tilsley*, Col *Trollop*, L Col *Galliard*, &c were slain, Col. *Roscarrocke* was wounded, Sir *W. Throckmorton*, Sir *Tim Fetherston*, and Col. *Baines* were taken, the Earle himself hardly escaping, with Col: *Roscarrocke*, and two Servants, through the Confines of *Straffordshire* & *Shropshire* to *Worcester*.

Cromwell in the mean time having seduced, or awed the whole nation to come & hedge in his Majesty as clearly as H of *France* was hedged in at *Agen Court*: Commands *Lambert* to attacque the bridge, and pass, at *Upton*, seven Miles below *Worcester* on the 28 Aug. Whence M. Gen. *Massy* being beat off, made a retreat as much to his own honour as if he had conquered.

And he himself advances from *Pershore* to *Sloughton* within 4 Mile of *Worcester* Southward facing it at the evening with a party of horse, appearing the next day at *Redhill* within a mile from *Worcester*, with a great body of Horse & Foot, making a *bonne-mine* but attempting nothing.

Upon the 30. of August his Majesty commanded 1500. choice Horse & Foot, under *Middleton* & *Keyth*, to beat up the enemies quarters, probably with success, had they not been discovered by one *Guyes a Taylor* who was afterward hanged.

The fatal 3 *Septemb.* being come, his Majesty holds a Council of Warr, upon the top of the Colledge Church Steeple: and observing some firing at *Powick* bridge between *Lambert*, *Ingolsby* & *Gibbons* on the one hand, and M. Gen *Montgomery* & Coll: *Keyth* on the other, and, seeing a bridge of boates made over *Severne* under, *Buncil*, by O C, went in person to order & encourage the Souldiers at *Powicke* to maintain that bridge, and prevent the other; and thence returning, his

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Majesty marched with the D of *Buckingham* through *Sudbury* gate to meet *Cromwell*, who was now got to an advantageous post at *Perrywood*, within a mile of the City, & joyning with *Hamilton*, *Forbus* & diverse others, persons of great worth & quality, forced him, and his Janizares, to retreat, beyond their great guns a while, untill they were overpowerd with multitudes of new supplies, which surfeited their valour rather than subdued it, when his Majesty having performed wonders (his arch enemy being judge) was forced to retreat in at *Sudbury* Gate in some disorder (with the loss of D. *Hamilton*, Sr *John Douglas*, Sr *Alex Forbus* & Fort 100). a Cart load of Ammunition being overthrown in the gate, so that his Majesty could not ride in (the enemy in the mean time possessing himself of Sr *John's*).

In *Friers* Street, his Majesty put of(f) his armour, & took a freesh horse, riding up & down among the dejected Souldjery, with his hat in his hand, entreating them to stand to their armes, but when he could not prevail told them, *I had rather you would shoot me, then keep me alive, to see the sad consequence of this fatal day*; and then Marched out at St. *M.* Gate about 6 in the evening, with his horse commanded by *Lesley*; when the enemy in the interim was stopped in *Sudbury* Street by the R. Honourable the E. *Cleaveland*, Sr *James Hamilton*, Col *Carlesse* &c, whose valour & despair did wonders.

His Majesty at *Barbones* bridges proposed another attempt, but the D of *Buckingham* L. *Wilmot*, concluding the day was lost, resolve Northward by the direction of one *Walter*, formerly Schoolmaster to Col: *Sands* Governour of Worcester.

But this *Walker* being in the twilight puzzled in the way; his Majesty consulted with the D. B, the E of *Derby* &c about some rest and safety, the Earl of *Derby*, having (having) made tryal of *Boscabel* house in his flight from *Wiggan*, acquaints the King of its conveniency which was suggested to be very probable in that it was a *Papist's mansion house*, who, being used to persecution, & searcher, were most like to have the readiest means and safest contrivances to preserve

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him, his Majesty is guided thither by M. C(*harles*) Giffard with one *Yates*, a servant passing through *Stourbridge*, speaking French to prevent any discovery of his Majesty's presence, his Majesty discoursing with Col *Roscorroke* touching the security of the E of *Derby*, and he found all *Boscobal* house.

His Majesty having in the evening left *Lesley* going directly Northward by *Newport* & privily leaving the D.B (Duke of Buckingham), E. *Lauderdale*, L. *Wilmot*, L. *Talbot*, Col. *Blague*, *Roscorroke*, Mr. *Darcy*, Mr *Lane*, Mr *Armour*, Mr *May*, Mr *Giffard*, Mr *Street* &c, goes to *Whiteladies* half a mile from *Boscobel*, that the company might not know whether his Majesty directly intended, thence one *Martin* (a boy in the house) is sent for *Will Penderel* to *Whiteladies*, whom the E of *Derby* took into the Inner Parlour, and shewed him the King, saying, have as much care of him as thou hadst of me.

His Majesty, having cut his hair, coloured his face with Walnuts, having put off his princely accoutrements, and put on a noggen* shirt of one *Martin's*, and a green suit & Leather doublet of *R. Pendril*, hastens out at the back door with *R Pendril* unknown to the country save same intimates who parted with him in the backside with sad hearts, in regard to a troop of the enemies under Col: *Ashenhurst* quartered at *Catsal* 3 miles off, some whereof came to the house within half an hour after the company was gone.

The Duke of *Buckingham*, the Earl of *Derby* &c, In the mean-time with fourty horse are guided by Mr Giffard after *Lesley*, but the Earl of *Derby*, Earl *Louderdail* were taken prisoners, and the Earl of *Derby* was afterwards condemned by Col Mac *Knorth*, M. Gen. *Milton*, Col *Duckenfield*, Col. *Bradshaw*, Col: *Croxton*, Col *Twistleton*, L Col: *Birchenhead*, L. Col. *Finch*, L. Col. *Newton* &c, Sitting in a Counsel of War Oct 1 1651, by an order from O. C. grounded on Aug 12. then last past, notwithstanding he pleaded quarter given him by one Captⁿ *Edge* who took him Prisoner, and beheaded at *Boulton* Oct: 15.

* Hempen or coarse.

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The Duke escaped in a disguise (quitting his horse, and the George which was given him by the Q of *England*) to Mr Hawkleyes in Nottinghamshire, and thence to the Lady Villiers in Leicestershire, thence came to London, & escaped to *France*, the Lord *Talbot* was in his Father's out-houses for five dayes, untill he was almost stifled & starved. The Earl of *Cleavland* was taken at M^{rs} *Brughton's* house at *Woodcot* in *Shropshire*.

His sacred Majestie lyes the while on a blanked in spring coppice, with *Rich. Penderell*, and eating some buttered eggs with a mess of milk, of goodwife *Yates* providing, and asking the Woman, cheerfully (whose sex he knew was no good concealer of a secret) *good Woman, can you be faithfull to a distressed Cavalier?* Whereunto she replied, I will dye rather than discover you.

But my Lord *Wilmot*, being conducted by one *Walker* to Mr *Huntbache's* house at *Brinsford*; and by *J. Penderel* to Mr *Whitgreave's* at *Mosely*, by Mr. *Huddleston's* means, where my Lord saw such Conveniences that he said, *I would give a World my friend (meaning the King) were here.*

On Thursday night his Majesty resolved to go from these parts to Wales, a Countrey eminent, for security & for faithfulness, where the People, and there dwellings, would have outvied each other in Loyalty, and his Majesty would be safe, both in there *hearts* and in there *Caves*, thus our David was hunted like a Partridge to the top of the *mountains*: *Richard Pendrel* must be the guide of his ways & manners, a tutor whose business it was to unteach him of all he had learned in School, Camp, or Court, and to breed him a Royal Clown, to which purpose to takes him to the renowned Academy, his own house at *Hobbal* grange, where his Majesty took equall content in the old goodwife *Penderell's* father, as in her Son's Rustickness: and pleased himself to see how as the good Woman could bear the honour she had to *entertain* a King, and her Son had to *serve him*, there he had time, and means, to disguise himself compleatly, though it was a hard

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task for his Majesty to keep himself from breaking out through all concealment : Innate Royalty betrays its worth in Rags and clouts : the King of *Niniveh* was as much a Prince in his sackcloth as in his Robes : a Diamond will glisten in a dungill, and a star is discovered by a night : and first he must be contented to go under the name of *William Jones* ; name (saith *Plato*) are a shadow of things, his Majesties blacks were of to taint a dye without the tincture of Tautology, without a shadowe's shadow, and then he must on with a leathern breeches, neer kin to that coat of skins God made *Adam*, as the Rabins think, out of the skins of the sacrificed beasts, *when he cloathed them*, carrying in his hand a wood bill or a Shepheard's crook right like a Shepheard of the People, as *Homer* terms Kings of old, now Heaven might *really* spake to CHAR(L)ES what it spake to *Cyrus* in a figure *Es* 44.48. *He is my Shepheard*, thus about nine at night (after a little refreshment to flatter rather than satisfie nature), his Majesty with the whole guard of a single *Richard*, began his journey on foot. Now we see that evill under the Sun, Servants *ride on horse back*, and Princes *walk on foot*. Thus David went up Mount *Olivet* with sackcloth on his head and bare footed ; they resolve that night for *Madeley* in *Shropshire* about five miles from *White Ladies*, and within a mile of *Severne* over which they were to pass to Walles.

But my Lord *Wilmot* thinking not himself secure, while his Sovereign was but in a likely-hood of danger, employes Jo & Penderel from *Mosely* to *White Ladyes*, to inform himself of the King's safety, who returned word, that his Majesty was gone : whereupon my Lord having but himself now to secure, consults his own safety, as well as nature & reason disturbed with troubles, extremities, dangers & fears, *that betrayeth the succours of reason* : about this time Col *Lane* according to appointment comes to *Moseley* and (after a solemn addresse to my Lord, which was as civilly *returned* as it was made, acquainted my Lord, how his Sister Jane had a passe for herself and a Man to go to *Bristoll*, to see a sister there neer her time of *Lying in*,

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which he said his Lordship might make use of : whereunto my Lord being Inclenable, and on *Saturday* night was conducted by the Col's Man (himself not being well) to his house at *Bentley*, taking his leave, very solemnely of Mr. *Whitgrave* ; and discovered himself to him, who was sorry he could not enjoy my Lord, but then when he parted with him : so our enjoyments are most commonly understood when Lost.

His Majesty in the mean time in his way to *Madely* with his man *Richard*, were put to it at *Evelin*-bridge, about two miles, from hence, for the miller having entertained some Cavaliers, was very carefull upon his guard, when they letting a gate, through which they passed, clap together, made him ask boldly *who was there*, being surprised with a sudden & neer danger, two things that will raison that passion of fear in the most *stayed* soul ; whereupon his Majesty being guarded with Innocence, the best armour against dangers from *without*, and fears from *within*, and being righteous was bold as a *Lion*. *Prov* : 28. 1. While *Richard* for fear of his friends (*Omnia tuta timet, non minus presidium suum quam hostes metuit tanto discrimine*, *Liv* 1. *Virg* : *An.* l. 3) betakes himself to by-ways ; where he was forced with his Majesty to wade through a little brook which contributed much to the galling of his Majesties tender feet, never used to those hardships, which had been intolerable to some subjects.

Here his Majesty (as he was afterwards pleased to observe, when he took pleasure to *remember* those extremities which were now no lesse than torments to suffer) was like to lose his guide, but that the russling of his calfe skin breaches brought tydings of him, when he could not see him. At last his Majesty arrives at *Madely* about midnight & knocked at Mr *Wolfes*, where they were all a bed, but his daughter arose and opened to them, where his Majesty durst but refresh himself, and hearing that the Enemy was thick thereabout, guarding all passages over the *Severn*, retires to an adjoining barn (a Court now for *Herod* ; there is the Court, where is the King, & place as eminent as the threshold of *Araunah* :) the sad lodging was

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a little bettered with Mr *Wolfes* good company, and his discourse of severall particulars of Importance, especially of his Majesties Journey, for the promoting whereof care is taken for a more particular information of the guards upon the *Severne*, which proved to be so strict upon all bridges, and even ferry-boats that it was thought dangerous to proceed in the journey for Wales, and upon second thoughts it was thought fit to return to Boscobel, being the most retired place for concealment in all the Countrey: belonging to Recusants, who being used to searches & persecution, had been taught the best contrivances, for security & privacy.

In the mean time, Mr. *Wolfes* care & love, with his majesties own just fears & discreet suspicion, thinking his majesty not sufficiently disguised, Mrs *Wolfe* provides some walnut-tree leaves, and put his Majesties face & hands in an hue suitable to his apparel & gesture, that he might have some colour for a disguise. Let not all this care to hide himself be at all imputed to his cowardice (for he is the man that feared no colours) but to that discretion that taught him wisely to escape the dangers which he could not valiantly subdue; makeing use of the close opportunity of a night to refresh himself at the house (which the day forbad him) about a 11. a clock he sets out with his *Fidus Achates*, Richard on foot, towards *Boscobell* where he arrived about three a clock on *Saturday* morning, but durst not go in until Richard had looked in, and seen whether there were any Souldiers, or other danger there (his Majesty in these troubles keeping up his mind equall, and his reason ready to assist with all caution & circumspectnesse) while the honest man went in, his majesty was left in the wood safe, within the concealment of a double night, one from nature, and another from the wood.

When Richard (then Scoutmaster General) came to *Boscobell*, who should he meet there but Colonel *Carlesse*, who had with much difficulty escaped thither from *Worcester*, where he stayed to see the last man dye, being a man of that valour, that durst not leave a field as long as there

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remained a friend to be assisted, or an enemy to be subdued, here to his own Countrey, he betook himself for relief & for security, having been awhile in the wood for the one, and being now come to the house for the other.

The Col. was no sooner informed that his Majesty was in the wood, that he hastens thither with *Richard* to give there attendance, where they found his Majesty sitting on the root of a tree (so King *Saul abode in Gibeah under a tree in Ramah*) guarded no doubt by Angels, to whom God gave *a charge over him*, who no doubt in this Wilderness *came & ministered unto him*.

The Col. addressing himself to his Majesty in a posture, becoming the most loyal subject, and his Majesty receiving him with affections, becoming the most gracious Sovereign, they came both to the house, and heartily eat such *cibum parabile* as bread & cheese, and the like, which the house afforded (his Majesties good constitution being able to digest what many a subject could not) onely the good wife afforded his majesty a posset of their milk & small beer, and got ready some warm water to wash his feet, now not only extream dirty, but much galled with travell. It was a custom amongst the Jews, as appears throughout the Old Testament, see *Joseph Ant* 1 & of the Grcecians, *Athen.* l. 14. And it is thought no less than an ordinance for Christians to wash each others feet, a thing now indeed not only charitable, especially had the good Woman the wine & spices usuall at such performances instead of her warm water : see *Godw-Jewish* & *Rous* his Greek Antiquities.

The Col. thought himself highly happy when he had the honour to unloose his highnesse shoe latchet, which was properly to ease him *Math* 3. *Dr Hamond ibid.* especially considering that they were full of gravell, & wet, yet the house could not afford an exchange : but while his majesties feet were washed, and his stockens shifted, they put embers into his great shoes to dry them : But alas ! his majesty could not be secure in the house, hardly time to refresh himself, but he must

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be back to the wood for fear of a surprise, where he might securely (like the higher beings) *see, and not be seen*, being come to the wood among the several Stately trees, now ambitious to be his majesties Court, and : throne, a thick-leaved oak is pitched on, one thats now revered for Antiquity, and once sacred to a Deity. Indeed Oaks have been counted sacred among the Jews, *Jeremie* 24, 26. *Esek* 6. 13. *Hos* 4. 13. and the Gentiles *Plin* 12. 6. 1 *Cæsar Com.* 6. *Strubo. Geog.* 4. *Diod. Sic. l. 5 Cluzer* 4. 24. *Duckens Delph. phæn. append. p.* 38, 39, 40. Into this Oak his majesty & the Collonel yet being assisted by *Will & R Penderel*, who (like the Jackal, the Lyons providore) went abroad, as his Majesties purveyors, for such provisions for his Majesty, as that place afforded. But alas nature called not so much for food to eat, as for sleep to digest what had been eaten. It was now almost two nights since his Majesty had enjoyed the happy minute to slumber in.

Therefore a cushion is called for, whereon his majesty might rest some part of his body, while that sacred head (whose security disturbed the Usurpers many a night) rested it self on his beloved *Carless* his lap : where he slumbered away some part of the day, notwithstanding the unevenness, hardnesse, and danger of his Lodging, the Honourable Colonel in the mean time watching, least his majesty should fall down, and looking about him least they should be both surprized.

When the Evening Courteously sheltered them, and night offered them a protection, they returned to the house, where his Majesty was informed of the secret place wherein the Earl of Derby had been secured, which his Majesty liked so well, that he entrusted himself to it, hoping that a place so faithfull to a subject, could not but be faithfull to a *Prince*, his Majesty being now at more ease and leasure, and in better security, permits one of the honest Brothers to play the barbour upon him, and cut the hair as short as the scissers would do it, but leaving some about his ears, that he might in no particular come short of a Countrey Clown : In the mean time Col : *Carless* stands by, and makes his pleasant observations upon the action ; and

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tells his Majesty *Will* was but a mean barber, to which his Majesty replied, he had not *been shaved by any barber before*; the Colonel asked *William, who was Oberon's barber, when he trimmed himself?* and some other pleasant passages, to ease his sacred Majesty of his heavy cares, and to divert his mind from the sad thoughts his affairs suggested to him.

*Interpone tuis interdum gaudia curis—
Non semper Arcum tendit, sed semel in anno
ridit Apollo:*

They bade *William* burn the hair he cut off, least there should be any of the superfluities of his Majesty to betray either himself or the poor man: but *Will* durst be disobedient in that particular, being to burn these comely locks, wherewith he has since pleased some persons of Honour with, who cabinet them up, as devoutly as the most sacred Relique of *Rome*: admirable indeed is gracious loveliness of each curl: Its true, its *black but comely*.

Leda fuit nigris conspicienda comis. Ovid.

Thus it may be he redeemed his head, with the loss of his hair: so the merchant saves himself with the losse of his rich fraught.

Now *Humphrey Penderel* was to go to *Shesnal* (in Shropshire) to pay Cap. *Proudway* some taxes: where (the enemies swarming so thick in each corner of the Countrey) he must needs fall upon some Parliament Souldiers, among whom, a Collonel, being informed that the King had been at *Whiteladies*, and finding that *Humphrey* lived not far off, examined him very strictly, assaulting him with the two most likely temptations, I mean fear, and hope: the first whereof, he worked upon, with punishment severely threatened, the other with reward, insinuatingly promised, neither of which prevailed, upon solid honesty, or upon plain or resolved Loyalty: the *honest man* durst not for all those grievous torments threatened to all his Majesties abettors,

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complices &c betray his gracious sovereign, nor for the one thousand pounds reward, for discovering him, betray an innocent man ; he knew what became of that person, who for some pieces of silver *betrayed innocent blood.*

He made use of the obvious plea of ignorance which seeming probable, from a man of his make, brought him off clearly, and was fairly dismissed, and then he thought it long before he could arrive at his Majesty & the loyal Collonel to give a narrative of what passed between him & the Parliament Collonel, which he did to his Majesties satisfaction in all particulars : only his Majestie discreetly suspected his future safety among so mean & needy persons, now there was such a price laid upon his head : yet he said nothing, least if he betrayed his suspicion of them, he would make them guilty : whereas on the contrary, *Seneca saith, whom you would have Innocent, let him know by your trust of him, that you think him so ;* therefore at night his Majesty committing the care of the avenues of the house, and broad wayes to the brothers still, was pleased to accept of a treatment from the good wife (whom his Majesty was pleased to call *my dame Joan*) for she had provided some chicken for his Majesties supper, whereof he was pleased to eat very heartily. And after supper there was a little pallet put up into his retyring room for his highness to rest in, where (after a competent supper, so many dayes travels, and night-watchings, and being now, in some measure of security) he could not but sleep well the most part of that night.

Collonel *Carelesse* not willing, to put the next day, being *Sunday*, to the trouble of *providing & caring for itself*, after supper asked his Majesty, what meat he would please to have provided for the morrow ? his Majesty (who is observed to take more delight in solid meat than in kickshaws) presently desired some mutton, *if it might be had* : the Collonel and the rest being willing to satisfy their masters desire, but withall, as willing to consult his safety, debate how this mutton could be procured ; mine host was not so well provided, either in his house,

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or in his field ; to go for it anywhere would have been dangerous, it being like to breed a suspicion that he had some strangers at home, he himself having seldom any occasions to make such *provisions, not as he professed, since the merry-making at the christening of his eldest child* : Therefore there was a third expedient found out : a neighbours sheep that rented some of *Boscobell* ground must be borrowed, unknown to the King, & satisfaction given for it as soon as they were gone ; which was accordingly offered but refused by *Mr Stanton*, when he heard it was taken for the use of some honest Cavaliers, wishing, much good might it do them.

On *Sunday* morning *September* the 7th his Majesty was up early (as its his usual custom) and having neer his dormitory a Gallery, he spent some time there, in heavenly meditation, and some in earnest prayer (which as events discover) *availed* much : thus did he make good King *David's* saying *When I awake Early, I am with thee*. And then he had the pleasure of a prospect from *Tong* to *Breewood*, which satisfied the eyes, and of the famous bells at *Tong*, which entertained the ear.

Not long after as his Majesty was coming down stairs his nose fell a bleeding, which seemed ominous to some of his followers, untill *his Majesty* was pleased to tell them, was not with him so *rare & unusuall*.

The house as it afforded not provision sufficient for his Majesty, so, now they were provided elsewhere, neither did it afford a cook, therefore when his Majestie had spent most of the morning with the family, in discourses and other exercises suitable to the *day*, and it was now dinner-time : he himself must call for a knife, & a trencher, & cut some of it into *Scoth collops*, as he was pleased to call them, and pricked them with the knives point, then calling for a frying-pan and butter, and fryed the Collops himself, Colonel *Carelesse* the while making the fire, and turning the Collops in the Pan, which passage afforded a pleasant problem among the *Deipnosophists* in *France*, proposed merrily

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by his Majesty, Which was the master-cook at *Boscobel*, he, or Colonel *Carlelesse*? the *supremacy* was of right given to his Majesty : as indeed it was due in all *causes*, and over all persons.

After dinner his Majesty retyres to a pretty arbour in *Boscobel* Garden, which stood upon a mount, where he spent a sabbath almost as devoutly, as ever any meer man since kept his in paradise ; here his Majesty passed away some time in reading ; but it is a question whether he read more in the plants, or in the books—*monstrat quælibet herba deum*,—and most books can do no more. But his Majesty could not be contented to be happy alone, and therefore enquires for my Lord Wilmot, and knowing that a certain information of his security would be my Lords greatest comfort, he sends *Jo. Penderel* to *Mosely*, who missing my Lord there ventured to deliver his message to Mr Whitgreave & Mr Huddleston : who brought him to my Lord at Bentley, who appointed a meeting with *Mr Whitgreave* about 12. a clock at night, and desired *Mr Huddleston* to appoint a place to attend the King about one a clock, the same night.

In the mean time M^{rs} *Lane's* Journey to Bristol was stayed, till his Majesties pleasure was known ; that Noble Lord neglects the opportunity to save himself, on purpose to save his majesty : and quits his allegiance to nature and reason dictating to himself preservation, rather than his allegiance to his *prince*.

All these resolutions were faithfully imparted to his Majesty at *Boscobel* : In compliance with which when the Sabbath was over, which was in the evening, for its thought the evening and the morning, makes the first day, he resolved for *Mosely* : but in regard his majesties feet were so indisposed by his late Journey to *Madely*, he was ride on the miller of *Whiteladies* horse, Colonel *Carelesse* humble took his leave of him, cause being born at *Bromhall* in *Staffordshire* within two miles of *Boscobel*, he was so well known in those parts, that he would rather betray, than serve his majesty ; who was so satisfied, with this & other his services that he was pleased by Letters

White-Ladies

Patents under the great *Seal of England* to give him, by the name of *Will. Carlos* (which in *Spanish* signifyeth *Charles*) an honourable Coat of *Armes*, bearing an *Oak proper*, in a *Field Or*, a *Fesse Gules*, charged with 3 regall *Crownes of the Second*, by the name of *Carlos*. And for his crest a *Civic Crown* with a *Sword* and *Scepter* crossed through it *saltier wise*.

His Majesty rode towards *Moseley*, guarded by the five brothers at a convenient distance, being led through by-ways though it was midnight (so provident & circumspect is fear, to provide against those evils which cannot by dexterity be so easily shifted off, as they may at a distance be prevented, *Reynolds Passions*. 29 1. A merry Passage that happened upon the way between his Majesty, and the miller must not be omitted : an interval of mirth, doeth well in the middle of these sad passages : his Majesty had very good reason to complain that the horse he rid on *was the heaviest dull Fade he ever rode on*, to which his master the miller replied in his behalf (beyond his usual notion) *grammercy horse ; my Leige ! Can you blame the horse to go heavily, when he hath the weight of 3 Kingdomes upon his back ?*

At Penford mill within ten miles of *Mosely* his Majesty alights, and was contented in submission to his guides to trudge on foot, untill he arrived at the Place appointed by Mr *Hudleston* (which was in the Grove in *Pitleasow*) whence his Majesty went with Mr *Hudleston* to *Whitgreaves* : but observe the gracious condescension of his Majesty, together with the gratitude, having forgot to take his leave of the brothers that were now discharged, he calls to them, and saith, *my troubles make me forget myself, I thank you all :* and gave them his hand to kiss. But being come to *Mosely* at last (though it was some two hours after the time appointed, which put my Lord *Wilmot* to some fear :)

*Res est solliciti plena timoris amor.
In te fingebam violentes Troas Ituros
Nomine in Hectoreo Pallida semper eram.*

The Royal Miracle

How oft my dear *Ulysses* did I see,
In my sad thoughts proud *Trojans* rush on thee
mine ears,
And when great *Hector's* name but touched
fears
My cheeks drew paleness from my paler.
Fingebat metum quo magis concupiscit Tacit . l . I
The things to which our heart love bears
Are objects of our carefull fears,

He embraced my Lord *Wilmot* with as much tenderness & affection, as he did him with humility & duty, kissing him upon the cheek, he asked him what had become of Buckingham, Cleaveland, &c. As if he cared, not so much for his own things, as for the things of others ; to which gracious demand my Lord could give little satisfaction, but hoped they were safe, and then my Lord intimating, that he whom he called all this while his friend, was his & there master, they came humbly to kiss his hand, and he entertained them very civilly with gracious expressions of his tender sense of their faithfullnesse, whereof he was assured by my Lord *Wilmot*, and then presently asked, where is your secret place ? but before he went to bed Mr *Hudlestone* prevailed with him to exchange his shirt, pulled off his stockens, his Jump-coat* (as the Countrey folks speake) and leathern doublet, &c. and gave him much ease, and when his Majesty had refreshed himself with some bisket & a bottle of Sack, he was pleased thus to express himself cheerfully, I am now ready for another march, and if it shall please God once more to place me in the head of but eight or 12000. good men, men of *one mind*, and resolved to fight, I shall not doubt to drive those rogues out of my Kingdoms : a little after he went to rest into his Privy Chamber.

My Lord in the meantime consulting with Mr *Whitgreave*, his Majesties security, resolved nobly, that in case Mr *Whitgreave* should be put to any torture for confession, *He should confess him first, which*

* A short leathern frock.

White-Ladies

might happily satisfie them, and preserve the King, and next day there came some Souldiers to Mr *Whitgreave* challenging him for being at *Worcester*, but they were quickly satisfied by the Neighbours who testified that he had not been from Home in a Fortnight, then last past.

My Lord *Wilmot* being informed by Collonel *Lane*, as before, of a pass Mrs Lane had to go into the West, went to *Bentley* to provide his Majesty a safe passage to the West, under the protection of that pass.

In the meantime Mr *Hudleston* & Mr *Whitgreave* were upon their guard, and the old gentlewoman enquiring of news below stairs, was informed that his Majesty had beaten his enemies at *Warrington-bridge*, & that there were 3. Kings come to his assistance, which she pleasantly related to his Majesty, who smiling answered, *surely they are the three Kings of Colen, come down from Heaven, for I can imagine none else.* Mr *Hudleston* has under his tuition Sir *Jo. Preston* Mr *Paylin* and Mr *Reynold*, whom he employed upon the *Life-guard*, As the young men more truly then they imagined called it. While Mr. *Hudleston* kept company with his Majesty My Lord sends Collonel *Lane* for his Majesty, who took his leave of Mr *Whitgreave* &c. not only thanking them, but also directing them what to do in case they were reduced to any extremity for their Loyalty, to which they replied all the service they could do him now, was to pray heartily to God for his safety & preservation : this night both cold & dark, his Majesty was brought safely to *Bentley* to Mrs Lanes, whence he took the opportunity of her pass, and rode before her to *Bristow*,* the Lord *Wilmot* attending at a distance. But *Bristow* not serving his turn, he returned & sojourned a while among loyal subjects in *Summersetshire*, *Wiltshire*, *Hampshire*, untill he came to *Brighthempston*, in *Sussex*, where he took shipping about the end of *Octob* 51. and landed securely at *Diep*† in *Normandy* : and there was received with the honour, that became his person, and with the joy that became his escape, Mr *Gifford* in the mean time being

* Bristol.

† Fécamp.

The Royal Miracle

sorely put to it for discovery at *Whiteladies*, Mr *Whitgreave* and Mr *Hudleston* absenting themselves, and *my dame Joan* being much affrighted by two parties that came to search their house. Col. Carloss got to *Holland* to bring the Royal princess the first news of her Brothers safety & escape, for which his Majesty by letters patents, as before, gave him by the name of *Will. Carlos* (which in Spanish is CHARLES) a coat of armes bearing upon an oake proper in a field Or, a *fesse gules* charged with three Regal Crowns of the second, and for the crest a *Civic Crown*, with a sword & scepter crossed through it saltier wise, with the motto *subditus fidelis regis et regni salus*.

The Royal oake of Boscobell hath of late been visited by 1000 of people, having been honoured once as the pallace of his sacred Majesty, and was since in *Aug. 1659* a sanctuary to my Lord *Bruerton* after the *Cheshire* defeat.

These Brothers have waited upon his Majesty *Wensday, June 13 1660* & Mr *Huddleston* with Mr *Whitgreave* soon after, who owned their faithfull service, and graciously condescended to such a degree of gratitude, as could be expected only from the best of Kings, and was due to the best of subjects.

COURTEOUS READER

The Publisher hath here presented thee with the first part only of his Majesties preservation, which if it find a favourable acceptance, will encourage him to proceed in the narration of the residue of his dangers, and extremities, till divine providence had compleated his safety and landed him at Diep, beyond the reach of his enemies.

Farewell.

II

**The History of His Sacred Majesties
Most Wonderful Preservation**

(Broadside)



PICTORIAL HEADING OF THE UNIQUE BROADSIDE OF 1660 IN POSSESSION OF THE WRITER, CONTAINING ONE OF THE FIRST ACCOUNTS PUBLISHED OF THE ADVENTURES OF CHARLES II DURING HIS SIX WEEKS' WANDERINGS AFTER THE BATTLE OF WORCESTER

The HISTORY of his saCRed MAJESTIES most Wonderfull
Preservation, after the Battle of *Worcester*.

With a true Relation of Col. *George Gunter* conveying his MAJESTY
from *Salisbury* to *Brighemsted* in *Sussex*, where he took Shipping.

A Fter a tedious march his Sacred Majesty with his Army
Arrived at *Worcester* on the 22^d of *August* 1651. Next day
after his Arrival he was Proclaimed King of Great Britain,
France, and *Ireland*, by Mr. *Thomas Lifens* Mayor, and Mr.
James Bridges Sheriffe of that Loyal City.

On the same day his Majesty sent abroad a Declaration summoning
upon their Allegiance all the neighbouring Nobility, Gentry, and
others from sixteen to sixty, to appear with Horse and Armes at *Pitch-*
ford on *Tuesday* following, *Tuesday* the 26 of *August* was a *Randevvouz*
in *Pitchford* of several loyal Subjects of that and the Adjacent Counties,
as would come in to his Majesties aid here appeared *Francis* Lord
Talbot (now Earl of *Shrewsbury*) with several other Knights and Gen-
tlemen ; notwithstanding such accesse, the number of his Majesties
Army not exceeded 11000. Scots, and 2000. English and not very well
Armed, nor had plenty of Ammunition.

August the 30 It was resolved by his Majesty at a Council of War
to beat up the Enemies Quarters that night, with a select party of
Horse and Foot, commanded by Maj-Gen. *Middleton*, and Sir *William*
Keyth which was attempted, but the Design fail'd being discovered to
the *Rebells* by one *Guyes* a Tailor, who was Hanged for his Treachery.

The Fatal Third of *September* being come his Majesty held a
Council of War upon the Topp of the Colledge Church Steeple, here his

The Royal Miracle

Majesty observed some Firings at *Powick*, and the *Rebells* making a bridge over the *Severn*, his Majesty presently goes down, commands all to their Arms, and marches in person to *Powick* bridge, to give orders for the maintaining of the bridge and for opposing the making of boats, and hasted back to his Army in the City.

Soon after his Majesty was gone from *Powick* bridge, the Enemy furiously assaulted it which was well defended by *Montgomery* till he was dangerously wounded, and his Ammunition spent, so that he was made to make a disorderly retreat.

At the same time the *Rebells* had finished their bridge of boates over the river without any considerable opposition, and *Cromwell* was the first man that led the rest over, then went back and raised a battery of great Guns against the Fort Royal.

By this time *Cromwell* was got to an advantagious post at *Perrywood*, but Duke *Hamilton* with his own Troop and some High-landers, Sir *Alexander Forbus* with his Regiment of Foot, and divers English Volunteers, by his Majesties command engaged him and did great Execution upon his men, Forced the *Traytors* with his Rebels to retreat, & were once master of his Guns ; here his *Majesty* gave an incomparable example of his Valour charging in his own person, which the *High-landers* imitated in great measure, Fighting with the but-ends of their Musquets when their Ammunition was spent, but numerous supplies of Rebels being continually powred upon them, his *Majesty* with his Army was forced to retreat in at *Sudbury Gate* in much disorder ; As soon as his *Majesty* was entered into *Friars-street*, he perceived many of his Foot soldiers to throw down their Armes, he rod up and down among them entreating them to stand to their Armes, but seeing himself not able to prevail, said, *I would rather you would shoot me, then keep me alive to see the sad consequences of this Fatall day.* During the Engagement at *Perrywood*, the Rebels on the other side of the Water possessed themselves of *St. John's* and those of his *Majesties* Army that were there ; about that time Col. *Drummond* with a party

His Majesties Wonderful Preservation

of *Scots* maintained the Castle Hill with much resolution, till such time as conditions were agreed on for Quarter ; so now the Rebels had subdued, all their opponents, fell Plundering the City Unmercifully ; His *Majesty* seeing no hopes, marched out of *Worcester* at *St. Martins Gate* about six in the Evening with his main body of Horse, but were in some confusion ; before his Majesty was come to *Barbons bridge*, about half a mile out of *Worcester* he made several stands, and faced about, and desired the Duke of *Buckingham*, Lord *Wilmot* and other of his Commanders that they might Rally and try once more the Fortune of War, but at the Bridge consultation being held, it was concluded that the day was irrecoverably lost, and all that was now to do, was to save his Majesty from the Rebels ; whereupon by the advice of his Council his Majesty resolves for *Scotland* ; immediately after the result, one *Walker* of Lord *Talbots* Troop was called for (who was formerly scout master to Col. *Sands*) to be their Guide, but being come to *Kinver Heath*, and day light being gone, *Walker* was at a puzzle in the way ; here his Majesty made a stand and consulted with the Duke of *Buckingham*, Earle of *Derby*, Lord *Wilmot* and others, where he might march and take some rest ; the Earl of *Derby* told his Majesty that there was a great convenience of concealment at *Boscobell* house and a right honest man that kept it, his Majesty therefore resolved to go thither. The Lord *Talbot* being acquainted with his resolution, and finding *Walker* dubious of the way, called for Mr. *Charles Giffard* to conduct his Majesty towards *Boscobell*, which he willingly undertakes, and being come near *Sturbridge*, it was a debate whether his Majesty should march through the Town or no, and resolved that all about his person should speak *French*.

Mean time *Lesly* with his Scottish Horse, had in the close of the Evening taken the more direct road Northward by *Newport* ; his Majesty being onely attended by the Duke of *Buckingham*, Earl of *Derby*, Earl of *Lauderdaile*, Lord *Talbot*, Lord *Wilmot*, with other Knights and Gentlemen ; in all about sixty horse.

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At a House a mile beyond *Sturbridge*, he drank and eat a crust of bread, and as he rode on he discoursed with Col. *Roscarrock* touching *Boscobell* house, and the security which he had found there.

Upon further consideration by his Majesty and Council, and to the end that the company might not know whether his Majesty directly intended ; Mr. *Giffard* was desired to conduct his Majesty to some house near *Boscobell*, the better to blind the design of going thither, Mr. *Giffard* proposed *White-ladies* lying about half a mile beyond *Boscobell*, and 26 miles from *Worcester*.

His Majesty and his Retinue being safely conducted to *White-ladies* by Mr. *Giffard*, Alighted, now as they hoped out of danger of any present surprize by pursuit, *George Pendrill* opened the Dores, and after his Majesty and his Lords were entred the House, his Majesties Horse was brought into the Hall, and by this time it was about break of day ; here was every one in a sad consult how to escape the Fury of the Rebels, but the greatest care was to save the King.

Col. *Roscarrock* immediately caused one *Bartholomew Martin* to be sent to *Boscobell* for *William Pendrill*, and Mr. *Giffard* sent also for *Richard Pendrill*, they both forthwith came to *White-ladies* and were brought to the Earle of *Derby*, who took them into the Parlour where the King was, and told *William Pendrill*, *This is the King*, thou must have a care to preserve Him as thou didst me, and Mr. *Giffard* did also conjure *Richard* to an especial care of his charge, to which they yielded ready Obedience.

Whilst *Rich.* and *Will.* was thus sent for, his Majesty had been advised to rub his hands on the back of the chimney, and with them his Face for a Disguise, and some person had disorderly cut of his Locks ; his Majesty (having put off his Princely Ornaments, distributed his Gold among his Servants) put on a coarse Shirt borrowed of *Edw. Martin*, who lived in the House, and *Rich. Pendrills* Green Suit and leather Doublet, but both *Rich.* and *Will.* adviseth the company to

His Majesties Wonderful Preservation

haste away, in regard there was a Troop of *Rebels* quartered but Three miles distant.

R. Pendrell conducted his Majesty out at a back dore, (unknown to most of the company) and carried him into an Adjacent Wood called *Spring Coppice* belonging to *Boscobell* about half a mile from *White-ladies, Will, Hump.* and *George* scouring abroad and bringing what news they could learn to his Majesty in the Wood.

His Majesty being thus as they hoped in a way of security, the Duke, Earl of *Derby*, Earl of *Lauderdaile*, Lord *Talbot* and the rest being about Fourty in Number march't *Northward*, but were overtaken and over-powred by the Rebels, and Routed and several of them taken and Executed, grounded on a bloody *Rump Act* of the 12th of *August** the last past to prohibite correspondance with *Charles Steuart* under penalty of High Treason, losse of life and Estate——*Monstrous Rebels*.

By that time that *R. Pendrell* had conveyed his Majesty into the obscurest part of the *Coppice* it was about Sun Rising on *Thursday* morning† and it rained very fast, in so much that the thickest Tree in the Wood was not able to keep his Majesty dry, nor was there any thing for him to sit on, therefore *Richard* went and borrowed a Blanket of *Francis Yates*, which he folded and laid on the ground under a Tree for his Majesty to sit on.

At the same time that *Richard* borrowed that Blanket, he spake to Goodwife *Yates* to bring some Vituals into the Wood at a place he appointed her, she presently made ready a messe of milk, and some Butter and Eggs and brought them to his Majesty, who being some what surprized to see a Woman, said cheerfully to her, Good Woman can you be faithful to a distressed Cavalier? she answered yes, Sir I will Dye rather than discover you.

In the *Interim* the *L. Wilmot* taking *J. Pendrill* for his guide,

* A copy of this broadside is in A. M. Broadley's collection.

† September 4.

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purposed first to have gone *Northward*, but passing *Brerewood Forge* was pursued by the Forge-men till one *Rich. Dutton* perswading them that it was *Col. Crompton* they pursued, they desisted ; Notwithstanding there was such danger on every side, that they knew not which way to take, but at length Councelling with *Will. Walker* an honest Neighbor of his, they hid him first in a *Marle pit*, & after conveyed him to *Mr. Huntbatches* house at *Brinsford* putting his Horse into *J. Evans* his Barn, yet this place not being Judged sufficiently secure *J. Penderill* endeavours to seek out one more safe ; and whilst he was at *Northcot* an adjacent Village, happens on a place which not only afterwards secured the *L. Wilmot* but likewise his Majesty.

It happened thus as *John* was at *Northcot* talking with Goodwife *Underhill*, *Mr. Huddleston* an acquaintance of his, and a Sojourner at *Mr. Whitegraves* at *Mosely* an honest Cavalier, him he acquaints with the businesse, who immediately rides back and tells *Mr. Whitegrave*, who willingly condescends to use his endeavours for the security of any person belonging to the King (for they knew not yet who my Lord *Wilmot* was) and accordingly had him conveyed to his House, where there was a place of such secret contrivement that he heartily wished his Majesty there, his Horse being sent that night to be secured by *Col. Lane* at *Bentley*.

But his Majesty had taken a resolution to get into *Wales* if possible, and taking *R. Penderill* for his guide, armed with a Wood-bill, and his name resolved to be *Will. Jones*, about Nine a clock at night began his Journey, resolving that night to go to *Madeley* in *Shropshire* Five miles from *Whiteladies*, and within a mile of *Severne*, here they Arrived about midnight ; *Richard* going to *Mr. VVolfs* house an honest acquaintance of his, where all being a bed, he knocks them up, acquainting his Daughter who came to the Dore, that the King was there, so the dore was opened and his Majesty entring refreshed himself, but by reason of the many Guards upon the *Severn*, it was thought too Dangerous to Venture over, so having secured himself the next day in

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a Barn, the night after he returned to *Boscobell*, where he found Col. *Carelos*, who having seen the last man kil'd at *VVorcester* was miraculously escaped, and come thither for shelter.

Richard who was gone out to see what Souldiers, or other danger might be nigh, found the Colonel and conducted him into the wood to the King, who came with him to the house, Eat some bread and cheese heartily, had his feet washed, and then returned into the wood where they got up into an thick leaved Oake and having a Cushion provided by *Richard Penderill* eased himself on that, and laying his head on Col. *Carelos* lap slept away most part of the day, when at night returning, to the secret place where the Earl of Derby was secured being shewed to him, he considering the incommodity of residing in the Wood, resolved to take that for his shelter whilst he should stay in those parts, and then he permitted *VVill. Penderill* to shave him and cut his Hair after the Country Fashion.

The same day *Humphrey Penderill* going to *Shefnall* to pay some taxes to one Capt. *Broadway* a Parliament Col. then there he understanding him to be a neer Neighbour to *VVhite Ladies*, where they had information the King had been, endeavoured by Threats and the promise of the 1000*l.* reward to bring him to a discovery but could not prevail. That night the Good Wife whom his Majesty called *my dame Joan*, provided him some chicken, and his Majesty expressing his desire of some *Mutton*, Col. *Carelos* went into the Sheepcoate of *Mr. Staunton* and kills a *Mutton* with his Dagger, and causes *VVill. Penderill* to bring it away, and the next morning his Majesty slicing some of it, fryed it himself, Col. *Carelos* turning it in the pan, which after his *Majestees* Arrival in *France* was occasion of a dispute which was Cook and which Scullion, which being referred to the King of *France* to decide, he replied that his Majesty was *hic & nunc* both of them.

The King receiving Advertisement that the L. *Wilmot* was at *Moseley*, sent *John Penderill* to acquaint him that he resolved to come

The Royal Miracle

thither that Night, but he being removed to *Bentley* Mr. *Whitegrave* and Mr. *Huddleston* accompanied *John* thither, where they spoke with the Lord *Wilmot*, who expressed his resolution to meet the King at *Moseley*, with which message *John* returned, and the King that night on *Humphrey Penderill* the Millers Horse was brought to *Moseley*, the Five Brothers and *Francis Yates* guarding him, resolved to have shewed their Vallour in defending his Majesty had they met with a small party of Troopers.

The King being received into the House to the L. *Wilmot*, acquainted Mr. *Whitegrave* and Mr. *Huddleston* who he was, who expressed their duty by kissing his hand, and having shewed him the secret place took great care to shift his stockings his Feet being extreemly galled, and likewise to put him on a Finer shirt, the extraordinary coursnesse of that he had on being somewhat troublesome.

But the main businesse was to take care of his Escape from thence, which the L. *Wilmot* had ordered to be by means of Mrs. *Lane* who having procured a passe from the Rebels to go with one servant to visit her Sister at Bristoll then neer the time of her lying in, The L. *Wilmot* had resolved to make use of the opportunity himself, but since hearing of his Majesties return to *Boscobell*, had suspended her Journey that she might serve him, which she was infinitely willing to do.

And accordingly on *Thursday* night the 11. of *September*, Col. *Lane* with his Sister, (all things fit for his Majesties Journy being provided) came to a field adjoyning where the King was mounted before her, *John Penderill* having the honour to hold his Majesties stirrop, and thus they two presently set forward having taken directions to know the Countrey, and Mrs. *Lane* having several accommodations to the Allyes Friends and acquaintance of her Family that lay in her intended Road, if any untoward action should put them to Tryall.

His Majesties Wonderful Preservation

Several accidents there were which happened in this Journey, as particularly the drawing up of a Troop of Horse at the entrance of a Town through which they were to passe, which caused some fear at first but it was soon over, the Capt. very civilly opening to the right and left, and permitting them to pass through.

The first place where it was attempted to provide a passage, for the King, was at a place called *Crods* and *Peet** hard by *Bristoll*, whither Mrs. *Lane* had conducted his Majesty, and secured him at *Leigh*, at the house of one Mr. *Norton* (since Knighted by his Majesty) an Alliance of hers, but here was no passage to be found——

In this house it was that his Majesty fearing least by the great resort to it he should be discovered, did all day retire himself to his bed, and one evening comeing down pretending himself cold, and aguish desired of the Butler a Glasse of Wine which he willingly gave him, withall beginning to him his Majesties health, and then the Queens, but looking earnestly upon him, guessed him to be the King, as he afterwards knew, and yet the honest Butler, was so far from discovering his Majesty, that he was afterwards very serviceable in his Concealment.† But his Majesty finding no passage in the West, accompanied with the Lord *Wilmot*, returned to *Salisbury*, where meeting with that Loyal Subject Col. *George Gunter*, he was by him conveyed through many difficulties and dangers to *Brighthemsted* in *Sussex*, where by the Faithful care and industry of one Mr. *Manfell*, (who has been since outlaw'd by that Rebell *Cromwell*) a Barque was hired of one *Tettersfield*‡ for sixty pound, to transport the King and L. *Wilmot*, Mr. *Manfell* pretending to the master that they were two Gentlemen, who having fought a Duell were fain to fly for their

* For identification of "*Crods* and *Peet*." See *ante*, Introduction, p. 37.

† All mention of the King's prolonged stay at Trent and his adventures in West Dorset is omitted. This points to the Turk's Head broadside being one of the very earliest publications on the subject of Charles II's flight from Worcester.

‡ The mistake in the name of the ship-captain is obvious. It should of course be Tattersall.

THE
ROYAL OAKE:
OR, AN
Historicall Description

OF
The Royal Progress, vvonderful travels,
THE ROYALL PROGRESSE, wonderful Travells,
Miraculous, Escapes; and Strange Accidents of his Sacred Majesty
CHARLES the II. Third Monarch of Great
Britain. Wherein is observable, and
worth publick view,

- I. *His Majesties strange and wonderful escape from Worcester fight, the disrubing of himself of his Princely Ornaments, the casting away his Chain of Gold, and the cutting of his precious hair and curled Locks, by the Lord Wilmot for a Disguise.*
- II. *The persuing of his Royal Person by Oliver Cromwell and his Blood-hounds; and the manner how his Majesty escaped, making a hollow Oake His Royall Pallace, within four mile. of Woolverhampton.*
- III. *The memorable Travels of Mrs. Jane Lane, and his Majesty, his riding before her to make an escape, and his going in a Livery Cloak by the name of William, servant to Mr. Lastel her Father in Law.*
- IIII. *The Discourse betwixt his Majesty and the Cook-Maid at the three Crowns in Bristol; Her severall Questions, where he was born, and what Trade he was. VVith the Kings answer, and the Remarkable passages, that happened in the Kitchen, upon the Maids imploying the King to winde up the Jack.*

By John Danverd a Loyal Subject and Servant to His Majesty.

L O N D O N, Printed for G. Horton, living near the three Crowns in
Barbican, 1660.

THE TITLE-PAGE OF DANVERD'S "ROYAL OAK" (1660)

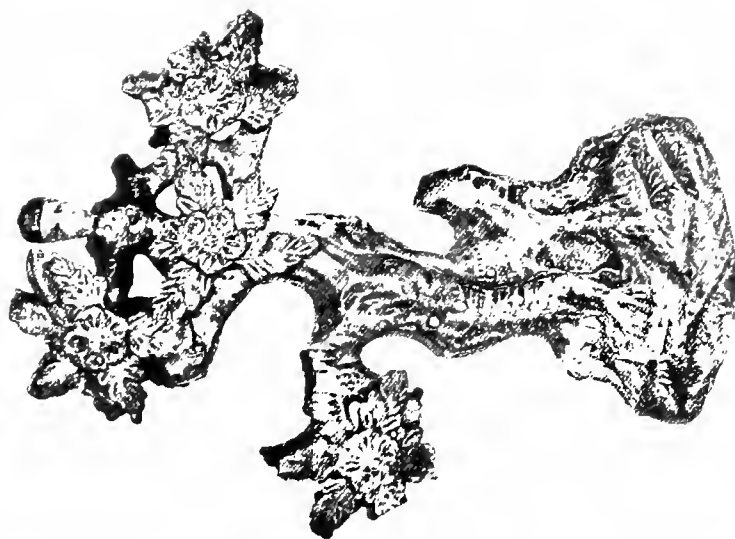
(From the copy in possession of the writer)

THE ROYALL OAKE

AFTER the great and fatal fight at *Worcester*, between His Majesties forces & the *Cromwellion* Rebels, the field being lost, not for want of courage, by the King's party, but by those numerous supplies, who served only like the *Turkish Asapi*, to blunt the Royal swords, so that their wearied arms no longer able to hold out, were forced to retreat, and at length (notwithstanding the generous example of his Majesty, who performed things worth wonder) to a disorderly fight ; yet 'tis worthy of observation, that upon *Cromwel's* advance near the City, his Majesty in person, and in the head of the Horse, drew out against him, and that with so much valour & courage, that *Cromwel's* own life-guard, and the best of his old Souldiers (who were thought almost invincible) were forced to retire till seconded by *Fleetwood*, *Disbrow*, *Lambert* & others, who overpowered the Kings forces, being above 5 to 1, and so loath was his Majesty to decline the field, that upon his earnest endeavours to have his horse and foot rally, twice had he his Horse shot under him, and at length was forced to shift for himself, and to provide for his own safety ; and so with some Nobles & Servants, not without a great deal of difficulty, forced to quit the field, and by the most sequestered roads they could possibly find out, rid to the Farmhouse of a Noble Gentleman on the Borders of *Staffordshire*, where they no sooner arrived, but his Majesty disrobing himself of his Princely ornaments & accouterments, and Particularly of a Chain of Gold, or Spannat-string, worth 300£ sterling, the present of a *Scottish* lad, which he bestowed upon a servant of his there present, which done, for his further disguise, to proceeded to the cutting off of his hair, and the Cot affording neither Shears nor

The Royal Miracle

Scissars to perform it, it was by the Lord *Wilmot* cut off with a knife. And now everyone is commanded to shift for himself, and this poor Prince left alone to the protection of the Almighty, he choosing none but one friend to accompany him, within four miles of (say some) *Woolverhampton*, where finding a hollow Oke, he was now content to make it his Pallace, for here he for some days concealed himself, his Friend still towards night going out to provide him some refreshment in his solitary confinement. In the mean time the Lord *Wilmot* who was commanded with the rest to seek his fortune, was by chance pursued by some Souldiers, but meeting with a Countrey fellow formerly a Souldier in the Old Kings Army, he was by him secured, though somewhat strangely, for he carries him into a Malt-house belonging to Mrss *Jane Lane*, and having no other convenient place to hide him in, clapt him under the Kilne, though there were there some fire in it, the Malt smoaking on the top. In the mean time, the Souldiers then in pursuit of him, entered the house, and having made about three quarters of an hours search every where else, but not at all suspecting the Kilne, where they saw the fire burning, they departed, and the Lord *Wilmot* was taken out of the Kilne almost ready to faint with the extremity of the heat. The Countrey fellow having thus secured this Lord, acquaints Mrs *Lane* with what he had done, and she extremely glad of it, gets him to her house, where in Conference she enquires of the Kings safety. The Lord *Wilmot* gives her the former relation of his great miseries and Distresse, which forces Tears from the tender-hearted Gentle woman, she earnestly intreats him to take some course for the finding out of his Majesty, and conducting him to her house, she being resolved to venture her life, had she ten thousand, for the saving of his Royal Majesty. The Lord *Wilmot* glad of so happy an opportunity to serve his Majesty, and so great a probability of securing him, the next night finds him out, and conducts him from the Royal Oak to the house of Mrs *Jane Lane*, where a large condoling of his hard fortune, consultation was had for



POTTERY RELATING TO THE ROYAL OAK AND THE FLIGHT OF CHARLES II
(In the Willett Collection, Brighton Museum)

The Royal Oake

a conveniency of his escape beyond sea, and it length it was concluded that *Bristol* would be the most convenient place to take shipping, That his Majesty should ride before Mrs Lane by the name of *William* servant to Mr *Lastel* her father-in-law, who was likewise to go with them ; and thus it was immediately given out, that Mr *Lastel* & Mrs *Lane* were to take a journey in the West and to visit some friends, and shortly after they set forward. In this Journey there hapned many Accidents worthy commemoration ; and first the King's Majesty riding now as a servant to one of the faithfulest of his Subjects, in a Livery Cloak, though not without that respect that durst be given to him ; complains to Mrs *Lane* that the cloak wearied him, whereupon she desires Mr. *Lastels* to carry it. The next & most important Accident of all was, that coming into a town which they were to pass through, there was a Troop of horse there to be quartered drawn up, which caused some fear, but a length with a resolution they passed on, and the Capt. taking them for honest travellers, made his Troop open to the right & left, and so permitted them to passe. Another accident there happened, which one may say was almost comical in this Tragedy, Mrs *Lane* coming into the Inne, leaves his Majesty under the name of *William** her servant in the Kitchin, with whom the maid enters into discourse, she asks him where he was born, and what trade he was, he answers at *Brumingham*, and a Naylor's son, and after a great deal of other discourse, the Jack being down, the maid desires him to wind it up, which he willingly undertakes, but goes the wrong way about it, and somewhat prejudices it ; at which the maid grew angry, asking him where he was bred, and telling him he was the veryest clownish booby that she ever saw in all her life ;

* The name of William Jackson stuck to the King throughout the whole period of his exile. He was often referred to as "Mr. Jackson" in the correspondence of the exiled Cavaliers. See Sir Harry de Vic to Nicholas, December 16th, 1655. Nicholas papers, Vol III, p. 209. To create confusion should these letters be scanned by unfriendly eyes, Oliver Cromwell was also called "Jackson." Nicholas to Ross, Cologne, February 1st, 1656. *Ibid.*, p. 264.

The Royal Miracle

which railing of hers made his Majesty, notwithstanding his present misery go out of the room smiling.

Mrs Lane notwithstanding his Majesty went as a servant, yet had a greater respect for him before others, pretending him her Tenant's son ; but on the Road she would alwaies ask what he would have to dinner or supper, and what piece of that he liked, which she would alwaies be sure to get made ready, and give him, he still sitting at the lower end of the table.

But to come to the end of their journey, being arrived at *Bristol*, they lodged at the house of a Noble gentleman there, and kinsman to Mr. *Lastles* ; the King finding it to be a house of great resort, feigns himself sick of an Ague, and so keeps his Chamber all the day, coming down only at night ; but ones night coming down & being somewhat cold craves a glasse of Wine of the Butler, who carries him into the Butlery ; this Butler having before served His Majesties Father in the Wars, looking earnestly upon him, suspected him to be the King, so easily will his Majesty appear though veil'd in the utmost disguises, and thereupon pulling off his hat, told him very ceremoniously, That he might command what Wine he pleased ; of which the King took no notice, but drinking off his Wine went out ; yet the Butler could not satisfie his suspicion, but went up to Mr. *Lastels*, and demanded of him how long he had had that servant, whereupon Mr *Lastels* was very angry at his boldness, in daring to ask him such a question ; but the Butler still persisted, and whispering told him he believed it was the King, whereupon Mr *Lastels* seeing he was discovered, sends immediately for his Majesty, whom he acquaints with the Butler's discovery of him, with whom the King was somewhat angry, in regard he did not first acquaint himself with his suspicion, it not being impossible, but that Mr *Lastles* might not have known him to be the King ; but upon pardon by the Butler, it was granted by the King, and he afterwards proved very instrumental in his Majesties conveyance through the Countrey.

The Royal Oake

But here at *Bristol* the chief design they had in hand failed them ; for though there were a little Barque lay there, judged most convenient for the business, yet the (M)aster would for no reward transport a single person, though he was so honest as only to deny it, and made no further search or inquiry concerning the person, which might perhaps have tended to a discovery.

The design here failing, his Majesty desired to be brought some miles Westward to the house of a worthy gentleman whom he knew to be a trusty friend, where coming he finds the gentleman in the field with his servants, having discovered himself to him, he was by him conveyed to a convenient stand till night, (having first taken leave of his true friends, who had thus far conducted him with the danger of their Livess & Etates) from whence he was in the dusk conveyed into the house, and there carefully concealed for a week, till such time as preparation could be made for some Western Port of a passage for him ; but coming afterwards there where it was provided, chancing to dine with a Parliament—Collonel then there, he thought it the safer to loose the benefit of that passage, than adventure to imbarque himself singly, which might breed suspicion, and perhaps might have been the means after so many deliverances to have betrayed him into the hands of his enemies.

This passage then likewise failing him, he returned back to the place whence he came, and concealed himself three weeks longer, till in the end it being resolved on, he by the assistance of *Mr Ph** was conveyed through the most by-ways they could imagine to a gentlewomans house in *Sussex*, where he lay some few dayes, till a person of true worth & honour made provision of a faithful Master, who with a small vessel wafted him to a small Creek in *Normandy*, to the great content of the King's Sacred Majesty, and all his loyal Subjects, and to the honour of the Master with due reward, as in time may appear.

Perhaps the reader may think it tedious that I have given so large

* *Mr Robert Phelipps.* See *post*, pp. 197–203.

The Royal Miracle

a narration of his Majesties escape from that fight at *Worcester*, but it was a work so full of wonder & providence, and so many false relations there are abroad, that I could do no lesse than recount all those miseries & hardships which this poor Prince endured for the sakes of us his subjects, and more would he willingly have endured even death itself, to the redeeming of us from the tyranny & oppression which we then groaned under.

But let him that shall look upon the several passages of his life, read them over & over, consider the several difficulties he passed, the many dangers that he was in to be betrayed, the Country being up round about, the summe of money set upon his head, for which many hundreds out of their covetousness made it their business to search for him, and they will confesse ingeniously that God was never so mercifull to any people as to us, in delivering his sacred Majesty so wonderfully out of the hands of his enemies, who breathed out nothing but his dea(t)h & destruction on, that we may yet have hope to be a happy Nati(o)n.

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The News of his Majesties escape being brought to Oliver, by the privacy of Mrs Jane Lane : He ordered a Troop of horses to plunder her house & seize her Person. But notice being given her by a friend at White-Hall, she went disguised for Bristol, and so escaped to France.

The account given in this tract is that contained in “The History of his SaCRed Majesty Charles the II etc. By a Person of Quality.”

IV

The Royal Patient Traveller

A Rhyming Account of the Escape of King Charles II

1660

(Reprinted from the Unique Copy in the Bodleian Library)

THE ROYAL PATIENT TRAVELLER,*

or,

The wonderful Escapes of His Sacred Majesty King CHARLES the Second from Worcester-Fight ; And his making a Hollow Oke his Royall Pallace. The going in a Livery Cloak with Mrs. Lane. And the Discourse between the Kings Majesty, and the Cook-maid imploying the King to wind up the Jack ; but being not used to do it, did wind it up the wrong way.

To the tune of, *Chivy Chase*, Or, *God prosper long our Noble King*.

[woodcut here of a
man, presumably the
King, on horseback]

[woodcut here of a
lady, half-length]

GOD hath preserved our Royal King
the second of that name,
And those that will not pray for him,
indeed they are too blame :
For thousands have against him spoke,
but I shall it disclaim,
And with all others have a care
how they should do the same,
David we read had enemies
that did him sore annoy,
So CHARLES the Second had the same,
who is fair Englands joy.
In May it was the twenty nine,
King Charles of high Renown.
Being his birth-day (as 'tis known)
to London came to town.
But had you seen the triumph made

* [Wood 401. fol. 171^b]

The Royal Miracle

And Bonfires flaming high.
And all the people for to cry

[Wood 401. 171]

God save his Majesty.
I will rejoyce at his happiness,
and pray he long may reign,
And of some passages he had
with honest Mistris Lane,
From Scotland he to Worcester came
though friends did look about,
Yet Cromwel came with a mighty Force
and did give him the Rout.

(2nd column)

A journey long I am sure he had
with frinds the loving Scot,
King Charles mounting himself so brave,
three times his Horse was shot.
The King did therefore for his safety,
make friends to have some pittty,
For so our Saviour he doth say
as I write in this Ditty :
If persecution being great,
of such then have a care,
So at that time 'tis very true
One did cut off his Hair.
His Princely cloaths he off did strip,
and did himself disguise,
So of King Alfred I have read,
that was a Prince most wise.
A Chain of gold that he had then,
worth hundreds without doubt
He gave away unto a friend,
who lead him there about,
Into a wood where Inns was none
nor Lodgings there bespoke,
The best of Lodgings he could get,
was in a hollow Oke
O happy Oke (saith Mistris Lane,

[Wood 401. 171^b]

that ever I did see,

The Royal Patient Traveller

A Pallace for a Prince thou wast
but he will go with me.

*[A woodcut here of six soldiers, with an officer
in front of them]*

(f. 172)

HER Serving-man King Charles became

For so he thought it best,
And she to free him from his foes
Did travel towards the West.
For all the Land was up in Arms
in City and in Town.
And for King Charles to find him out,
it was a thousand pound.
But Mistris Lane vertuous and wise,
so much did understand,
What woful hunting they did make,
for Charles of fair England.
For through a town they then must pass,
for there was no back Lane
The Horses heels then up did trip,
and down fell man and Dame.
The Souldiers seeing of the same,
at them did laugh and jeer,
And she suspition for to shun,
struck him a Box on the Ear.
With angry words she seemed to speak,
I think I am well mann'd,
For such another I am sure
is not within the Land,
To second it her brother in Law
so much in anger spoke,
Well, must my Father then said he
carry your mans Cloak,
It was too heavy then (said she)

[Wood 401. 171^b]

what need you be so cross
The burthen off it was so great
it threw us off the horse.

The Royal Miracle

Her nimble tongue and wit in prime,
and being a Lady gay,
The Souldiers laughing at them then
did let them pass their way,
God freed them from their Enemies
For with him there is pittie,
At the three Crowns King Charles then lay
which is in Bristow City,
For in the Kitchin he was plac'd
by his most loving friend,
And modestly he there did stand,
Fearing he should offend,
It made the Kitchin-maid much muse,
she could not understand,
That in the Kitchin by her stood
King Charles of fair England.
For being by the fire-side,
She asked what Country man,
At Brumingham the King replied
and a Naylor's son.

(2nd column)

With bobs and speeches for some Sluts,
In words they are not slack,
At her command King Charles must be
for to wind up the Jack.
Though mildly he did take this task,
it seems he did want skill,
The wrong way he did go about
and did do it some ill :
Great Clownish booby she him calls
yet he was meek and mild,
And though she us'd such taunting words

[Wood 401. f. 172]

He at her did but smile,
He venters to another house,
Where people came so thick.
That all the day his Chamber kept,
as if he had been sick.
But coming down one night indeed,
he spyed a servant old,

The Royal Patient Traveller

And for a glass of Wine he craves,
because he was a cold.
The Butler quickly him describd
and knew he was the King,
With hat in hand thus did he say,
you may have any thing.
So easily his Majesty,
although in cloth so plain,
No notice of his words he takes,
to his Chamber goes again,
The Butler being not satisfi'd,
with courage spake he can, [*sic*]
Of master Lastel he must know
how long he had that man.
And whispering he told him then,
I know it is my Liege,
And do not do him any wrong,
I do you now beseech,
Designs still failing, yet no dobut [*sic*],
to God he still doth yeeld,
And to a trusty friend he went,
that then was in the field.
And for three weeks the King conceals
and then did back return,
And for a time he made a stay,
it seems in fair London :
Where he beheld such things as was

[Wood 401. f. 172]

sad to his tender heart,
Some grief at that time did he feel,
from London did he part.
A Master of a Ship at last
it seems was a good man,
Did Hoise up sail,
and so to France, as I do understand.

By Henry Jones of Oxford.

Printed for the Authour,
[1660.*]

[*added in *Antony*
Woods' band]

v

**The Wonderfull & Miraculous Escape
of Our Gracious King**

A Ballad of 1660

(From the Unique Original in the Bodleian Library)

The Wonderfull and Miraculous escape of our Gracious King, from that dismal, black and gloomie defeat at *Worester* : together with a pattern to all true and faithfull Subjects, by the five Loyall and faithfull Brothers, with their care and diligence, observance and obedience 8 dayes in the time of his Majesties obscurity.*

The tune is, Come lets drink the time invites.

[Woodcut here of two men, and a boy and a girl standing behind them]

COME you learned Poets let's cal
our Fathers and our Mothers,
For wee'l write Historicall,
of five Loyall faithfull Brothers.
Richard Humphry, John and George
William once who had the charge
of brave King Charles and others.

After Worsters dismall day,
here's a true Relation,
How our King escapt away,
and who was the preservation,
Of his Sacred Majesty,
In his great necessity,
beyond all admiration.

He great Kingly acts did doe,
with a brave intention.
Uentred Crown and Kingdoms too,

[Wood 401. f. 173^b]

in one day for our Redemption,

* [Wood 401. f. 173^b]

The Royal Miracle

But in this Ile not insist,
The books doth make it manifest,
beyond my wits invention.

For when he perceiv'd in fight,
the un-even ground did rout him,
Five and twenty miles that night
he rid with all his Lords about him,
But it would have griev'd your heart
For to have seen them all depart,
what sorrow was throughout them.

(2nd column)

Though with grief and double feare,
they yet did hold together,
On the confines of Staffordshire,
but to goe they knew not whether.
The conclusion in the end,
Earle Derby said he had a friend,
hard by and they'd goe thither.

Then to the place they all did goe,
where the Earle intended,
But the people did not know
from what blood they were descended
But they set them Bread and Cheese,
And the King did highly please,
his sorrow much amended,

The Earle of Derby in the end,
all his mind disbursed,
Askt if there was any friend
that wherein he might be trusted?
William Pendrall then came in,

[Wood 401]

Who said he would be true to him,
else let him be accursed.

Ane further said if't 'twas the King,
nothing should be lacking,
In any part that lay in him,
for the escape which he was making.

The Wonderfull and Miraculous Escape

And like unto the Turtle-Dove,
This honest William still did prove,
in all his undertakings.

[*Woodcut of three men, two sitting at a table,
the third standing up smoking a pipe.*]

(fol. 174)

And George the yongest brother he
made hast and set his clothing,
For his Sacred Majesty.
cause the country should not know him
Richard he did round his haire,
For true Loyallists they were.
all five were faithfull to him.

Humphty [*sic*] fetcht him Hat and Band.
of the Country Fashion.
Shipakin* gloves for his white hand,
likewise John had great compassion
Fetcht him shirt and shooes the while,
Then the King began to smile,
at his accommodation.

Richard fetcht his coat by stealth,
and his best arrayment.
Then the King discrib'd himselfe,
of his rich and Princely Garment.

[Wood 401]

Nimbly he did put them on,
And a Wood Bill in his hand,
this was our Kings preferment.

William then went with the King,
Richard he did leave them,
Cause Intelligence hee'd bring,
least the Wood it should deceive them,
George and Humphry scouting were,
Seeing if the coasts were cleare
none might come aneere them,

* Gloves made of sheep's skin.

The Royal Miracle

The tydings Humphry had in Town,
put his vaines a quaking,
Hearing twas a thousand pound
bid for any one to take him,
The King was somthing then dismaid,
To think what baits the Jews had laid,
and horrid Plots were making.

(2nd column)

All the day they wandred then,
in great consultation,
Like forlorne distrissed men,
that ne'r were in such condition.
William to the king bespoke,
And said he knew a hollow Oake,
might be his preservation.

Then through bushes they did rouze,
the trees were so berounded,
With brakes and bryers leavs & bows,
that in number they abounded.
It was the Castle of our King,
And his Royall Court within,
for ever is renowned.

[Wood 401. f. 174]

William he did bring him food,
like he were a ranger,
While he staid within the Wood,
though good King he was a stranger :
Hollow Oaks his dwelling place,
Where he staid for five days space,
in sorrow and in danger.

At last he came to the Lady Lane,
being all disguised,
And to her exprest his name,
she good Lady then advised,
And appointed out a day,
When they both might come away,
And never be surprised.

The Wonderfull and Miraculous Escape

Then Humphry, Richard, John & George
safely did surrender,
The King which they had in their charg
on the eighth day of September,
The King he leave then took of them,
And said if e'r he came agen,
their loves he would remember.

Printed for F. Coles, T. Vere, and W. Gilbertson. [1660*]

[* Added in Antony
Wood's hand]

VI

Miraculum-Basilicon
or
The Royal Miracle

Truly Exhibiting
The wonderful Preservation of His *Sacred Majesty* in, with his miraculous Escape after, the Battel of *Worcester*; with his Deliverances at *Edge-hill*, and in the *Downs*; faithfully collected and composed from the best and truest Relations; But as to that of *Worcester*, principally from the incomparable *Elenchus mortuum, &c.* as it was immediately deliver'd from the *King's* own mouth, to that learned Author.

Some Essayes, by way of Introduction; 1. Proving, That the frequent Victories of the *Cromwellians*, were no signal notes of God's Providence, for owning that Party, as was the common canting of the late Times. 2. For the Sufferings they have, and some still undergoe, since 1660. in these, they are not (as they say) persecuted, but justly punished. 3. Some Persuasions to Peace and Unity. 4. Sanctity and Schism, or Religion and Rebellion, cannot possibly cohabit in the same Person or Party. Lastly, A Postscript, by way of Advice, to some of the King's Party; that they endeavour to answer this transcendent Mercy of God, in the Deliverance, and Restauration, both of the King, and Church, by a sober and religious Conversation.

— Deus nobis hæc otia fecit
Namq; erit ille mihi semper Deus. —

L O N D O N, Printed in the Year 1 6 6 4.

(Now in the British Museum)

Miraculum basilicon

OR THE

ROYAL MIRACLE : *

Exhibiting His *Sacred Majesties* most Miraculous Preservation in and after the Battel of *Worcester*, &c.

THE Affairs of *Scotland*, in relation to the *Kings* Interest there, growing now so desperate ; (there being not left the least Gale of Probability, to fill the Sayls of Hope) for *Cromwell* (who at his first entry) from a Despairing *Enemy*, is now become an Insulting *Conquerour*, and as if he had clipt the Wings of Victory, doth by his frequent, and no less eminent defeating the *Kirk's Army*, make that Nation now begin to feel the Vengeance of his Prevailing Sword.

Anno 1651

For having shamefully baffl'd them, by a total Rout at Dunbar, taken *Dalkeith* : And also *Dundasse* (being cajolled, nay rather tempted by this Monster of Fraud and Dissimulation) treacherously concludes the Rendition of that sometime Maiden, but now Prostitute *Castle of*

* The only two copies of this work I have been able to trace are in the British Museum. No copy exists in the Bodleian Library. Of these two copies one is No. 3528 in the Grenville Library, the other is in the General Library, under the press-mark 1326 b g.

The size of the leaves in both copies is nearly the same, viz. $5\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, but both have the appearance of having been cut down for binding. The type is a trifle blurred, especially when italics are used. Both copies appear to have been corrected by the author Jenings. In the Grenville copy is the following note :—Acquired by the Museum Jan. 1847 with the Grenville Library (bequeathed by the Rt. Hon. Thos. Grenville, *d.* 1846). On the fly-leaf is written in a hand which is almost certainly that of Grenville, "I have not seen another copy of this book."

The early pages of this copy are slightly broken. Although quoted as being incomplete (Brit. Mus. Cat., and apparently believed to be so by Mr. Allan Fea), it turns out to be entire ; but pp. 83 and 84 have been bound out of order at the end of the book and so give

The Royal Miracle

*The Highlanders
excepted.*

August 1. 1651.

Edinburgh, (for whether Treachery or Cowardise challenged the greatest share in the majority of this people, is not easie to determine) together with his *Boats* arriving at *Leigh*; his Army being transported into *Fife*, where not long after *Lambert* defeating Sir *John Brown*, they become Masters of the Pass at *Sterling*; and with Trophies of Victory proceed to the reducing of *St. Johnstons*. Whereupon his *sacred Majesty* (justly despairing of any thing honourable, from a Nation so immerst in baseness) adding Resolution to his constant Courage, and steeling his Faith with Hopes, intends for *England*; to try his Fortune amongst his more Loyal Subjects there, though in a far worse capacity to serve him. And now turning his back upon *Sterling*, (by his most excellent Policy) get three dayes march of *Cromwell*, and comes into *England* by way of *Carlisle*. Where when his *sacred Majesty* was arriv'd, in all Cities and Towns as he marched through, was proclamed King of *England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, &c.* And like a Prince in whom Justice was temp'red, if not swallowed up in Clemency, he issueth out Overtures of Grace and Mercy to all such (*Cromwell, Ireton, Bradshaw, and Cook* (the more immediate Murtherers of his

the appearance of wanting those following; however, pp. 85-92 precede them. As this copy is complete, it may be useful to give here the full compass of the work.

Title-page

pages not	{ 8 pages of Dedication (pr. in italics)
numbered.	{ 86 „ „ Introduction (pr. in type like small Pica)
pages numbered	{ 74 pages actual text of the <i>Miraculum</i> (type like Pica)
1-92.	{ 18 „ of the Postscript do.

This copy is bound in light brown calf with stamp and book-plate of Rt. Hon. Thos. Grenville.

The second copy, acquired by purchase on 27 April, 1858, wants pages 19-22 and 27-30 of the actual text. The whole of the complete copy has been carefully transcribed, but I have only reprinted the historical portion, omitting the prolix dedication (wholly printed in italics) to “the most Excellent Lady Florence Roll, wife to the Honourable Sir John Roll,” in which that “much Honoured Madam” is assured that “Whilst we sate by the Rivers of Babylon, there was no contemplation which did more affect my hopes of the Restauration of Sion, than the signed Mercies of God, in covering the Royal Head of our most Gracious Sovereign in the day of Battel.” The introduction (also omitted) emulates the long-windedness displayed in his devotions by the “puny parson of Charmouth.”

Miraculum-Basilicon

Royal Father only excepted) as would come in, and accept of his free Grace and Pardon.

And now his *Majesty* being come into *Pitchcroft-Fields*, nigh *Worcester*, he admonisheth, by his Royal Edict, all his loving Subjects, which were above sixteen, and under sixty, that they presently appear to his aid and assistance, according to an old Statute of this Kingdom. To which Proclamation, that they might perform all due Obedience, within a very short time there appear *Francis*, Lord *Talbot*, eldest Son of the Earl of **Shrewsbury*, with sixty compleat *Horse* attending him ; Mr *Thomas Hornyold* (of *Blackmore Park*) with forty *Horse* ; Mr. *John Washburn* (of *Witching Ford*) with forty *Horse* more ; Sir *John Packington*, Sir *Walter Blunt*, Sir *Ralph Clare*, with many more both of Knights and Esquires, besides two thousand common people ready to take Arms under the King's Banner, notwithstanding the eminent Danger which attended that Enterprise. By the augmentation of which number, the *King's Army* consisted of fourteen thousand *Horse* and Foot ; but two thousand of the *Scotish* Souldiery lay weary behind, partly by reason of the length of the March, or else partly slid away by reason of Fear. But if it be objected, Wherefore no more did flock in Troops towards the *King's Camp*? It may easily be answered, *viz.* The immature Meeting or Endeavours to assist the *King*, between the *Welsh*, and the *Londoners*, together with the *Gloucestershire* Men, being so lately suppress'd ; and also the Cruelty of the then *Pretended-Parliament*, so severely punishing the ineffectual studies of such as endeavoured to take Armes for the *King's* assistance ; all which were as yet evident to the eyes, and fresh in the memory of most men. To these things may be added, the sudden and altogether unexpected approach of his *sacred Majesty*, which did take off all Opportunity to the Loyal Party of confederating, and mutually exhorting each other to repair unto him. Lastly, The memory of the *Scotish Injuries*, which

Aug. 22. 1651.
Aug. 26.

* Also Mr. Ralph Sheldon of Bealy, Mr. Mervin Touchet, Mr. Thomas Acton, Mr. Rob. Blount, Mr. Rob. Wigmore, Mr. Francis Knotsford, Mr. Peter Blunt.

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that Nation not many years before had brought upon them, could not as yet possibly be obliterated : Neither indeed did the difference seem much, whether on the one side, they submitted to a cruel Servitude under the Tyranny of their own *Country-men* ; or on the other, whether they became Obnoxious to the Pride of the insulting *Scot*. To all which we may add, the indefatigable Industry, and extreme Diligence of the *Democratians*, or Common-weal-Men ; together with the *Oligarchians*, (or such as would have only the better sort to rule) in exciting the several Counties to the increasing their Armies ; and not only narrowly observing, but speedily suppressing the *King's* Friends.

The Arch-Regicide *Cromwell* being now return'd into *England*, (leaving six thousand Souldiers in *Scotland*, under the Command of General *Monck*, in order to the prosecution of his Victories there) doth exceedingly rejoyce the Armies of the *Parricides*, and innervate them with new vigour ; And presently joyns his Forces with *Lambert*, and *Harrison*, and also with *Gray*, and *Fleetwood*, and so with Souldiers from all parts, some being Voluntiers, others prest, in number at least four-score thousand, (if some have not miscounted in their Calculations) he begirts the City of Worcester.

But the heroick Enterprises which at that time were attempted by that truly honourable the Earl of *Derby*, though Fortune denied them a propitious aspect, yet ought they not to be buried in the dark Grave of Oblivion, but rather written with indelible Characters, as Monuments of Loyalty to the embalming of his memory. For being attended with an inconsiderable party of two hundred and fifty Men, coming from the *Isle of Man*, applies himself to the Town of *Lancaster*, and in a very short time in that County lifteth fifteen hundred Men ; which whilst he was conducting to *Manchester*, there to have augmented this Loyal Party with five hundred more, meets (such was Heavens Decree) with *Lilburn*, a Colonel of the *Parricides*, assisted with a Party of sixteen hundred Sectaries, where presently a Fight begins, and after

Aug. 25. near
Wiggan

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a very sharp Conflict, the *Earl* is worsted, and having received two wounds, he escapes, conveying himself through by-paths and woods to *Worcester*; the Lord *Widdrington*, Sir *Thomas Tildesley*, Colonel *Matthew Bainton*,* being all slain in the Engagement: Sir *William Throckmorton*, Colonel *Richard Legg*, with four other principal Commanders, and four hundred private Souldiers, are all taken Prisoners.†

In the mean time *Cromwell*, like an implacable Enemy, vieweth the *Royal Army*, being uncertain as yet upon what part of the *King's Camp* to make the first Onset, concludes at last the Forlorn Hope to fall upon *Upton*, a small place situate towards the South, seven Miles below *Worcester*, where was a Stone Bridge went over the River *Severn*; which Bridge Major General *Massey* had broken down, but as it fortun'd, had left a Beam which reach'd from the extremities of one of the Arches; laying himself secure, with two hundred and fifty Horse, in a small Town fast by, notwithstanding the Pass was neglected. But *Cromwell's* Souldiers quickly apprehending that Opportunity, and climbing by that Beam, one after another, suddenly get over, and having gotten a considerable Party, they not long after take the Church of *Upton*, defending it so long, untill others, partly by the Horses swimming the River, and partly by the Bridge, which is now in some degree repaired, new supplies of the Enemy come over. The Major General sounds a Retreat, and having received a great‡ wound in his hand, marches back to *Worcester*. The Parricides, by laying Planks upon Boats, make Bridges over the River *Team*, and so in Troops pass over; which River flowing a little farther westerly, devolves into *Severn*, not much below the City. By and by the like Bridge is made upon the River *Severn* it self, and under *Buns-hill*, about a Mile from the City, they

Aug. 28.

Aug. 29.

* Also Col. Trollop, Lieutenant Colonel Gillard, &c. Colonel Roscarrock wounded.

† As Sir Timothy Fetherstonhough, (who was afterwards beheaded by the Rebels) Col. Baines, &c.

‡ A Shot from a Musket, in which Dispute he behav'd himself very gallantly.

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joyn all their Forces, and* face *Worcester* with twenty thousand, as if they intended presently to engage the *Royal Army*.

Aug. 30.

The next Night, the stout Major General *Middleton*, with a Brigade of fifteen hundred Horse and Foot of the *Scots*, resolves to make a sally upon the Enemy; But the *Cromwellians*, by a certain Taylor, (named *Guyes*, and one of *Worcester*, who notwithstanding by a Halter afterwards received the just reward of a Traytor) being pre-admonished, with all dexterity made Provision to receive this *Camisado*, or Sally: nevertheless the edge of the Royal Valour is not rebated, but resolves to make some attempts upon the Enemy, but proving insuccessfull, for *Knox* the Major of the Party, with some others, being lost, the rest return to the *City*.

And now the third day of *September* being come, not more memorable than fatal to the *Scotish Nation*, in regard of the total Rout they received upon the same day the year before at *Dunbar* by *Cromwell*, when as his *sacred Majesty*, being attended with his Council of *War*, from a very high Tower of the *Cathedral Church* beheld the Enemy, he sees them marching towards the *City*, presently there is an Allarm given, and likewise the *King* himself speedily marcheth in person to the defence of *Powick Bridge*, to frustrate the new passage made there by Boats (which was formerly mentioned.) The *King* was scarcely returned to the *City*, but *Montgomery*, who was appointed to defend the Bridge, being dangerously wounded, and moreover wanting Ammunition; also Colonel *Keyth* being taken Prisoner, is forced to retreat into *Worcester*. But whilst these things were in agitation, his *sacred Majesty* moveth towards the East side of the *City*, and with height of Magnanimity resolves to try the fortune of the Battel, his *Majesty* now being attended with a considerable Party of Foot, his Horse indeed being not many, (for the baseness of the *Scotish Horse* was such, as they could not be engaged so much as to move a foot) and steel'd with Resolution like himself, leading on his Foot, accom-

*The other Deputy
Governour.*

* From Redhill.

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panied with the *Dukes of Hamilton* and *Buckingham*, and also with Sir *Alexander Forbus*, he falls upon the Enemies quarters at *Perrywood*, about a Mile from the *City*, in which Engagement his *Majesty* often charg'd with that gallantry, and clear apprehensions of warlike Discipline, as could not but move admiration in the worst of his Enemies. Upon the first Assault he becomes Master of their *Artillery*, their Guards being slain ; but afterwards, although he had extricated the acute and knotty parts of War by the sagacity of his mind, although he did attempt things both great and hazardous, and that with a mind as sublime as himself was above others ; although he himself did atchieve many noble and renowned Enterprises, and that with a most prompt and valiant Arm ; yea although he did at this time principally, by most undeniable tokens, demonstrate the excellency and clarity of his innate Courage, (as the Enemy it self can witness) yet notwithstanding new supplies, and fresh reserves of *Rebells* being still sent from *Cromwell*, (like billowes in the Sea, one in the neck of another) by which he was engaged or oppress'd above measure, (Valour it self being prest to death under the weight of Multitude) *Non Desperavit*, he doth not despair (Piety and Courage having so invincibly possess his Royal Heart, as Fear could not peirce, nor Despair enter ;) and that he might reserve himself for better things, he thinks fit to recede, and escape by a timely retreat into the *City* ; where when he return'd, by reason of a Cart loaden with Ammunition, (a Wheel being unfortunately broken, and lying athwart in the very entry of *Sudbury-Gate*) he was for some time hindred ; but apprehending the danger of the smallest *Remora*, he suddenly dismounts, and passing in a-foot, presently mounts another *Horse*, where with all earnestness of mind, and strength of voice, he doth now animate his fainting Souldiers, strongly perswading them to let the Enemy a-new feel the effects of their Courage in the recovery of the *Battel* ; until danger eminently approaching, passing through *St. Martin's Gate*, he overtakes the **Horse*, under the Command of *David Lesley*, (whose

* 2000.

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(General. egregious Cowardise, if not Treachery, was such, as not to make one Charge in the whole Fight) and going forwards towards *Barbon's Bridge*, did most earnestly and uncessantly beseech them, that they would now at last, with recollected minds, and that with all celerity, sally forth to relieve the poor Foot now fighting, and engaged in the very jaws of danger : But it proves as ineffectual as the wise Charm to the deaf Adder, for some refuse, others throw away their Armes, all turn their backs, and decline danger, rather than they would, by resolute fighting (and true Valour winged with Hope) make that either the first day of their Victory, or the last of their Lives.

* But the day being now lost, and all hopes of Victory extinguished in Despair, whilst the *King* escapes, the *Earl of Cleveland*, Sir *James Hamilton*, Colonel *Carles*, with some† other of his *Majesties* most faithful Subjects, with some of the *Horse*, begin a fresh Engagement (by charging the Enemies) at *Sudbury Gate*, and with much gallantry oppose the *Rebells* so long, untill *Fleetwood* passing the River, and at the Western part, through the Subburbs of *St. Johns*, enters the *City*, and *Cromwell* having forc'd *Sudbury Gate*, puts the stout *Earl* to a retreat, and makes these true Loyallists to follow him. From whence he goeth on with Banners of Victory towards the *Royal Fort*, where Collonel *Drummond*, with fifteen hundred Men, were appointed to defend it, whom when he had refused the rendition, being but once summoned, and *Cromwell* storming, and entring upon every quarter, puts to the Sword, with all his Souldiers, *Deploranda urbis ex eo Facies* : Now is this deplored *City* involved in a Sea of unexpressible Miseries, the Victory being consummated, the Conquerours on the one hand begin to break open Houses, snatch, plunder, and swelling with fury, break out into irefull threatnings : On the other hand, the Conquered

* I had rather you would shoot me, than keep me alive, to see the sad consequences of this fatal day, saith this most excellent Prince.

† *Cap. Tho. Hornyold, Cap. Tho. Gifford, Cap. Rich. Kemble. Here Sir James, and Cap. Remble, are desperately wounded, and others slain.*

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begin to flee, turning their backs unto the Wounders, and with hearts as humble as their hands, uncessantly begging for quarter. Some (though in vain) still contend, and dedicating themselves to an honourable death, resolve to dye fighting. The *Citizens* in vain beseech, cry, deplore ; all places being now covered with dead Carcasses, or maimed Bodies (here Calamity tyrannizeth, offering such sad spectacles, as would make the most icie heart resolve, at least, to pay the tribute of a weeping, if not a bleeding eye) here was to be seen Souls imboss'd with wounds, seeking for comfort, and having no balm, but their own blood to wallow in ; there thou mayest see others so embroidered almost *cap-a-pe* with gashes, as earnestly beseeching (by a merciful kind of cruelty) for a termination of Life and Miseries together. And to compleat this horrid Tragedy, their dead bodies are exposed to the open air, and lye unburied some three or four dayes more ; which filthy spectacle, by reason of the goary blood issuing from their gaping wounds, increased the horroure of that wicked Fact.

Three thousand five hundred of the private Souldiers were slain upon the place. The *Duke of Hamilton* having his Legg broken, lived not passing four or five dayes after the Fight. *Forbus* was shot through both the Leggs. There were of the *Townsmen* and *Scots* taken Prisoners to the number of five thousand, amongst whom were the *Earls of Rothes, Carneworth, and Kelle* ; the Lord *Sinclare*, and *Montgomery*, being the chief Commander of the Artillery ; and also *Fanshaw* and *Grave*, both *English* Men, and Masters of the Requests for the *English* ; with divers Officers of the *Scotish* Orders, and all their Bagg and Baggage, with a hundred fifty and five Ensignes or Colours.

His *sacred Majesty* being past a little beyond *Barbon's Bridge*, (leaving *Lesley*, who had determin'd to lead the *Scotish Horse*, which had hardly strook a blow in the Engagement, directly to *Newport* into *Scotland*) being attended with the *Duke of Buckingham*, the *Earls of Derby, Lauderdail*, with the Lord *Wilmot, Lord Talbot*, and other Nobles, and with about fifty Horse turns into a by-way, partly that he might

Also Colonel Blague, Roscarrock, Mr. Darcy, Mr. Lane, Sir William Armorer, Mr. May, Mr. Giffard, Mr. Street, &c.

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refresh himself with sleep, and partly that he might amuse those that so hotly pursued him. As they were riding together, the *Earl of Derby* inform'd the *King*, that there was a certain Country Man, nam'd *Penderel*, who had lately provided for him a safe retiring place in *Boscobel-House*, when himself was routed, and fled from *Lilburn*; adding withall, that this *Penderel* was a *Roman Catholick*; to which place the *King* resolves in the first place to repair. This House was about twenty six Miles distant from *Worcester*, in the County of *Shropshire*, near the borders of *Staffordshire*, seated between *Tongcastle* and *Brewood*, in a woody place, very opportune for secresie. And having one Mr. *Giffard*, who was very expert in the way, leaving *Kedderminster* upon the left hand, design their journey through *Sturbridge*, and so towards *White-Ladies*, (formerly a Monastery of *Cistertian Nuns*) being distant in the midst of the Woods, about the space of a little Mile from *Boscobel*. Where coming, and knocking at the Gates about Midnight, the *King*, with his *Retinue*, are led in by another of the *Penderels*. Whilst his *sacred Majesty* was there, he cut off the hair of his head, and (being cast into the fire) he besmeers his hands with the soot of the Chimney, and then clothes himself with some of their poor Apparel.* And now *Penderel's* two other Brothers are † sent for, viz. *Richard*, who lived nigh, in a little Farm, at *Hobbal-Grange*; and *William*, who dwelt at *Boscobel*; who being informed of this great and misfortunate overthrow, *The Earl of Derby* shewing them his *sacred Majesty*, doth pray and most earnestly intreat them, by their Faith, by their God, and all things sacred, that they endeavour to preserve him from the implacable fury of his merciless Enemies, and that with all speed they seek out for him a place of safeguard, to shelter and hide in. To which these poor Country Men (yielding ready obedience) promise they will do their utmost. Whereupon *Richard Penderel* conducteth the *King*, through a back

* As a noggen coarse Shirt of Edward Martin's, and with Rich. Penderel's Green Suit, and Leather Doublet.

† Barth. Martin, a Boy of the House, is sent.

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Door, into the next Wood, called the *Spring-Copice* ; but the *Lord Wilmot* being commanded before that he should ride for *London*, where at the Sign of the *Green-Dragon*, at the *Vintry* in *Thames-street*, it was concluded that the *King* should meet him, *John Penderel* promising that himself would shew him through what wayes he might arrive there most securely.

Afterwards, when these truly loyal, and honourable *Nobles*, had in this manner, and according to the utmost of their power, provided for the safe-guard of his *sacred Majesty*, they now consult their own, by whom it is adjudged most secure, that they follow, and endeavour to overtake *Lesley*, who by reason of his great Party of Horse, needed not fear the encounters of a few stragling Souldiers ; nor was it probable that any great Forces of the *Parricides* as yet should reach so far Northwards. Thus having taken their leaves of the *King*, intending to overtake *Lesley*, they ride not far before they met, and rescued the *Lord Leviston* (who was Captain of the *King's* Lifeguard) from the hostile violence of his now pursuing Enemies ; notwithstanding the benefit was of no long continuance ; for a little after, as soon as they were past not much beyond *Newport*, they meet with a Party of *Lilburn's*, and being tyr'd with long travel, they are presently put to flight, where the *Earl of Derby*, (whom* afterwards being Condemned by the unjust Sentence of a wicked, and pretended† *Court-Martial* of the *Parricides*, they put to Death) *Lauderdail*, (who for signing his Faith with the Seal of Loyalty, is confined to a noysome‡ Prison, until the happy Restauration of his *sacred Majesty*) with many others, whom here to mention would prove tedious, were taken Prisoners.

In the mean time, the *Duke of Buckingham*, *Lord Leviston*, *Lord Talbot*, with many others, shifting here and there, meet by chance

* Held October 1, 1651.

† Notwithstanding he had quarter given him by Cap. Edge, who took him Prisoner.

‡ At Windsor. Castle.

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with various refuges, and at last pass beyond the Seas. But the Enemy encompass *Lesley*, having past but little beyond *Newport*, where they take, and scatter almost all his Party, viz. the *Earl of* Cleveland*, (who flying, after the *Battel*, had overtaken *Lesley*) and also the *Earl of Kenmore*, with the *Lord Wentworth*, and *Middleton* ; but the Country People, not without marks of cruelty (which the *English* Nation for the most part abhors) did barbarously beat, and cruelly wound them, as they were sculking here and there, with Clubs, Pitch-forks, Thresholds, and such like Instruments, which their fury brought forth to vex and torture this despicable Crew ; being a most incongruous, nay, inhumane Retaliation, for their Civility, and good carriage, which they shewed towards them, not long since in their marching by. *Major General Massey* being wounded in the hand, and flying, doth voluntarily resign himself into the Protection of the *Countess of Stanford*, under whose Husband (who was the Father of *Gray*) he had formerly served the *Parliament* in *Glocester* ; from whence, about a Fortnight after, he is carried Prisoner to the *Tower of London* ; and being long macerated in a nasty *Gaol*, he is now shortly to plead for his Life, before the pretended High Court of *Justice* ; but in the interim, changing his Clothes with a certain *Porter*, he goes forth, and escapes safely.

In this τὸ νῦν, or nick of time, that the *King* went into the Wood, he was greedily hunted for, as the thing it self doth witness ; for it was scarcely past half an hour, before *Colonel Ashenhurst's* Souldiers (who quarter'd at *Cotfal*, about 3. Miles distant) are come, who search the Monastery, and running speedily through all the Rooms, and secret places, do narrowly search the most hidden Corners ; notwithstanding, the Divine Providence doth so check them, that they seek not at all without Doors ; for it did rain so hard the whole day, and the Showers falling so plentifully from the Trees, that the Grass was

* *Being then above sixty years of age, yet boldly asserted the King's Cause.*

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exceeding wet with the Drops, so that what was Loss to others, became Gain to his *sacred Majesty*.

But during the time the *King* remain'd in the dark Woods, and thick Bushments, *Richard Penderel* having taken a Hook in his hand, as if he intended to mend the Hedges, brings a *Blanket*, which being folded together, the *King* sits down upon it; and this *Richard* also desires *Francis Yate's* Wife, (who lived fast by, and was his near Kinswoman) that if she had any Victuals in readness, she would bring it drest into the Wood. The poor Woman with all speed makes ready a Mess of Milk, with some Sugar, and a few Eggs, and Butter. The *King*, at the first approach of the poor Woman, is much troubled, by reason of the natural proness of that Sex to Pratling; but being come, the *King* saith to her, *Will you be faithful in concealing a distressed Cavalier?* *Yes Sir* (answered the poor Woman) *and I will dye rather than I will betray you.* With which words the *King* being much satisfied, fed heartily on those things which were brought him.

The Evening being come, *Richard Penderel* conducts him into his little Cottage at *Habbal-Grange*, being but little distant from the place where the *King* was, and there he is provided for a new Journey, which he is about to undertake that Night; for, amongst other things, the *King* enquires, whether this *Penderel* knew any Person of known Fidelity to the *King's* Interest, that lived near the *River Severn*, who could provide some private place, wherein his *Majesty* might shelter himself so long, untill Provision could be made for his Passage into *Wales* because in that Country the *King* had both many, and also most faithful Friends, by the assistance of whom, he might either goe for *London*, or else there more securely be concealed amongst the craggy Mountains. Being therefore informed of one Mr. *Woolf*, living five Miles from thence, and about one Mile from the *River Severn*, at a Village called *Madeley*, thither about Nine of the Clock in the Night, his *sacred Majesty*, being attended by his faithful Guide *Richard Penderel*, sets forwards; but they had scarcely travell'd a Mile, before

In this Journey the King names himself William Jones, as some say.

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they were to pass by a * *Water-Mill*, and there to pass the River by a Timber Bridge, where opening a Gate through which they were to goe, *Richard* chanc'd to let it clap, whereat the *Miller* instantly, with threatening words, requires them to stand, demanding of them whither they went so late in the Night ; but *Richard Penderel* being affrighted at the unexpectedness of the Thunderclap, quits the Bridge, and suddenly runs through the Water, at which his Royal Companion followeth after, being directed not so much by the benefit of his own Eyes, as guided by the rusling of *Penderel's* Leathern Breeches, the best Directory his *Majesty* had to follow him, in a Night attended with so much darkness. The fat *Miller* presently leaves his pursute, and they pass the residue of the way without farther danger.

But at length being come at *Madeley*, about Midnight, *Richard Penderel* knocks at the Door, which is presently opened by Mr. *Woolf's* Daughter, and the Guest is very friendly entertained ; and making Mr. *Woolf* privy to their Design, he hides the *King* in a Barn, because in the day time the House was seldom or never free from Souldiers. And having sent forth, to try whether there was any Opportunity of passing the River *Severn*, he is informed, that not only the Bridges were secur'd, and guarded by Souldiers, but also the Passages, and Passage-Boats, were narrowly watched ; wherefore his Passage over the River could not be attempted without much difficulty, and more danger. The Day being spent, his *Majesty* returns from the Barn into the House, where, by the industry of Mrs. *Woolf*, his Hands and Face are accurately dyed with a Decoction of *Walnut-Leaves* ; but taking his leave there, about 11. of the Clock in the Night, he returns afoot to *Boscobel*, by the same way he went thither ; resolving to wait there some more commodious Opportunity, before he would attempt a farther Journey.

* Called by some Evelin-Mill. This Miller was an honest man, though the King knew it not, and had then some considerable Persons of his Majesties Army in his House, who took shelter there after the Fight, which occasioned him to be upon his watch, in order to their safety.

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And being return'd the *Saturday*,* about three of the Clock in the Morning, the *King* remains in the Wood, whilst *Richard* goes into *Boscobel-House*, to see if there were any Souldiers, where he finds only *Colonel Carlis* (whom we formerly mentioned, with others, to have stoutly opposed the *Cromwellians* at *Sudbury-Gate*) who was born at *Bromhall*, in *Stafford-shire*, two Miles from *Boscobel*, and newly come to this his familiar acquaintance, that so he might privately refresh himself with Food. But hearing who lay hid in the Woods, *Colonel Carlis*, with two of the † *Penderels*, goe presently to attend the *King*; and after joyful Congratulations upon both sides, they walk together into the House. But the Gravel which got into his *Majesties* Shooes (when he waded through the River) by rubbing and grating up and down, drew a little blood from his Feet, being much galled and surbated; for the Curing of which, the poor Woman, *William Penderel's* Wife, provides a Bath to wash them; and then, both the *King* and the *Colonel*, being refreshed with ‡ poor Country Food, they presently return into the Wood, where ascending the top of a thick *Oak*, they continue there the whole day; where his *sacred Majesty*, by reason of long watching, is surprised by sleep, and resteth in the Arms and Lapp of this Loyal *Colonel*. But whilst his *Majesty* was thus sleeping, he chanc'd so to rest his Head upon one of the Armes of the *Colonel*, that by compressing the nervous parts of it, it caused such a stupor or numness in the part, that he had scarcely strength left in it, any longer to support his *Majesty* from falling off the Tree, neither durst he, by reason of the nearness of the Enemy (now hunting so greedily after him) speak so hard, as to awake him; nevertheless, to avoid both the danger of the fall and surprize together, he was (though unwillingly) constrained to practice so much incivility, (as I was credibly inform'd, by a worthy Person, who received this relation from the *Colonel's* own

* Sep: 6

† Viz. as some say, William, and Richard, and the King, sitting upon the Root of an Oak.

‡ Bread and Cheese, with a Posset of thin Milk, and small Beer.

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mouth) as to pinch his *Majesty*, to the end he might awake him, and prevent this present danger. But in the Evening they come down, and return very hungry to the House ; where his *Majesty* being shown a most inscrutable place (being a hiding place * or shelter for a Priest) his *Majesty* likes it so well, that he is unwilling any more, whilst he tarried there, to commit himself abroad in the open air, but resolves to trust to the security of this place.

Humphrey, another of the five Brothers of the *Penderels*, who kept a Mill but little from thence, went the same *Saturday* to *Sheffnal*, to pay in some Taxes : where in the House of one *Captain Broadway*, the head-Collector of the Moneys, he accidentally meets a Colonel of the Rebels, coming newly from *Worcester*, who earnestly enquires, and greedily hunts after the *King* ; and hearing that this country-man lived nigh the Monastery of *White-Ladies*, examined him, whether he knew any thing of the *King*, or concerning the Monastery ; and adds farther, *That if any Person would discover him, he should be rewarded with a thousand pounds sterling : but on the other hand, if any shall be found to hide or conceal him, he must expect death without mercy.* Notwithstanding honest *Humphrey* (being armed with Loyalty) conceals the *Arcanum* ; and that he might at once preserve the *King*, and a good Conscience, he scorns the Temptation, as great as it was, and stoutly denies, that he knew any thing of what was demanded. And returning in the Evening, declares the whole matter to the *King* ; who spent the greatest part of the *Lord's Day* following, in an *Arbour* adjoining to the *House*, in reading the *holy Scriptures*.

In the mean time *John Penderel*, when he was to direct the *Lord Wilmot* in the high way to *London*, and finding it so obstructed (the Souldiers being dispersed into all places) thought it most convenient, to hide him, with his Horse, in a dry *Marle-pit*, untill he could learn out for him a more secure retiring place ; which at length he obtains (the Heavens so favouring him) by committing him to the Protection

* Here the Earl of Derby was secured, when he fled from Lilburn.

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of Mr. *Whitgreave*, and Mr. *Huddleston* ; which Mr. *Huddleston* had the tutoring of three young Gentlemen, viz. Sir *John Preston*, Mr. *Thomas Palyn*, and Mr. *Francis Reynolds*, in the knowledge of good Learning, in the House of Mr. *Whitgreave*. The Horse being sent away by night to *Colonel Lane*, a familiar Friend of his, who formerly had served under the *King*, they both with much friendship, and great civility, entertained the *Lord Wilmot* at *Moseley* ; of which the *King* being certainly informed, by the return of *John Penderel*, sends presently after his Lordship, of whom he had so lately intelligence ; who, before the Messenger came, had changed his quarters, and was gone to lodge at *Bentley*, with *Colonel Lane* ; where at length being spoken withall, and understanding the *King's* pleasure, willingly promiseth, in the dead of the Night following, to return back to *Mosely*, being distant five Miles from *Boscobel*, in order to the mee[t]ing of his *Majesty*. *John Penderel* being returned to *Boscobel*, the *King* resolves to goe thither, to see the *Lord Wilmot* ; but that unhappy graveling of his *Majesties* Feet (which we mentioned formerly) rendred him incapable to undergoe the Journey on Foot ; therefore mounting *Humphrey Penderel's* * *Mill-Horse*, furnished with a very poor Saddle, and taking his leave of *Colonel Carlis*, rides towards *Moseley*, having the four *Penderels*, and *Francis* † *Yeats*, as the Yeomen of his Guard. When they were together, the *King* dismisseth these Loyal Country Men, with many Promises of Reward for their Fidelity, which have been since very largely performed.

From hence the *King* is conducted by Mr. *Whitgreave*, and Mr. *Huddleston*, to the *Lord Wilmot*, and after long discourses concerning their affairs, and that they had satisfied themselves with meat,

* *The King complains*. It was the dullest Jade he ever rode on ; *Humphrey answered*, My Liege ! Can you blame the Horse to goe heavily, when he hath the weight of 3. Kingdoms on his back.

† *Whom since it hath pleased the King, by his Letters Patents, under the great Seal of England, to give the Name of William Carlos, which in Spanish signifieth Charles ; with the Royal Oak, charg'd with 3 Regal Crowns, for his Coat of Arms.*

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the *King* is hid in a secret Room, in order to take some rest. The next day Mr. *Whitgreave* is sensible that there were *Souldiers* about to come, to apprehend him, as one who had born *Armes* *formerly under the *King's* Command ; and some come, whom, being innocent, he is not willing to decline ; but his *Majesty* being slipt into this secret place, immediately all the Doors are opened, and he confidently invites them in, and by the testimony of his *Neighbours*, and other Arguments, doth so clearly evince the contrary, that they did not trouble him any farther, no not so much as to goe up the Stairs.

Again, the same day the *Souldiers* search the Monastery, being informed by a *Cornet* that was taken Prisoner,† that the *King* for certain did hide himself there ; *For as an eye-witness, he had observed the King, with some Nobles, to have rid thither : but of them that went off from thence, he saw no man to go off like the King.* Therefore they hastily rush into all corners, and private places of the House, and breaking up the Planchings, and tearing down the Wainscoat, and Ceelings, do search the very corners of the most hidden places : but all proving to no purpose. Then, with a Pistol presented to his Breast, they take the Mr. (*George Giffard*, who lived in an Apartment of the House) into examination, and threaten him, unless he will presently shew them the *King*, they will immediately Pistol him : But Loyalty had sublim'd him so much above Fear, that he resolutely denies that he knew the *King* at all ; nevertheless, he saith not, but that many came that Night unto him, who, when they had eaten up his Meat, and drank up his Drink, departed again. Then turning themselves towards the *Cornet*, they did miserably cut and hew him, as a most notorious Liar.

The Night following his *sacred Majesty* takes his leave of Mr. *Whitgreave*, and his *Wife*, and also of Mr. *Huddleston*, where first of all he gives them an Order (or *Bill of Exchange*) to receive Moneys

* Or now at Worcester Fight, as some affirm.

† In Cheshire, who came in the Troop with his Majesty to White-Ladies, where the Rebels hast with such speed, that they do not draw bit almost to the killing of their Horses.

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from a Merchant of *London*, (if afterwards it should so chance to happen, that this good work, or high piece of Loyalty of theirs, in concealing the *King*, should be discovered to the *Parricides*) that so they might consult their safety, by transporting themselves beyond the Seas ; then commits himself, with the *Lord Wilmot*, to be directed to *Bentley*, to the Protection of *Colonel Lane*. Where his Sister, *viz.* Mrs. *Jane*, is about to undertake the conducting of him to a place near the *City of Bristol*, where there was hope of a Passage ; and in order to this Design, this Plot or Scene is laid. She obtains a *Let-pass* from a certain Colonel of the *Rebels*, that she her self, with one Servant, together with a Gentleman, and his Wife, with two Horses, might ride, without the molestation of any, to Mr. * *Norton's House*, nigh *Bristol* ; whose Wife being great with Child, drew nigh her time, where her Sister *Jane* ought to be ready in the time of her extremity ; neither could she have a better Companion to travel with her, than was her Kinswoman, with her Husband. This Project agreeing well in all things, the *King* makes no delay, but mounts a horseback, and openly, like a Serving-man, rides before Mrs. *Jane*, and she as his *Mistress* behind him. Mr. *Lassels* (which was the name of her *Kinsman*) with his Wife, following after him. The *Lord Wilmot* riding foremost, and carrying a *Hawk* upon his fist, as if he had never seen them before, but accidentally meeting them upon the high-way ; and determines, when he was come nigh *Bristol*, to leave that way, and bend towards the House of his Friend Sir *John Winter*, there resolving to wait some better Opportunity, in order to his affairs. So all being ready, they put forwards, in hope of a prosperous Journey.

The first thing memorable happened at *Broomsgrove* : For the Horse casting a Shooe, it was the *King's* part (being now in form of a Servant) to lead him to the *Smith's*, to have another put on. Where the *King* enquireth of the *Smith*, *What news he heard?* *Nothing*, reply'd the *Smith*, *besides the Victory obtained by Cromwell upon the*

* *Since Knighted.*

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Scots ; where, although all the others are well-nigh taken and kill'd, yet notwithstanding the King is escaped. The King replies, Possibly he is secretly got into Scotland, through some by-ways. To whom the Smith reply'd, That this was not at all probable : but it was rather likely, that he had happened upon some lurking-Hole in England : Adding withall, If I could catch him, I should not be a little glad, because then the Parliament would pay me down a thousand pounds for my labour. After such like expressions had past between them, the King departeth from him, to attend his Mistress in the Journey. And coming almost to *Evesham*, they resolved to pass over the Ford, at the River *Avon*, being distant about a Mile below the Town : but being almost come to it, they espye on the other side of the River, Troopers Horses grazing in the Meadow, with their Riders lying by upon the ground. The King wills them to goe forwards, and dissemble their fear ; but Mr. *Lassels* (to whom the injury lately done him by the Souldiers, was as it were fresh before his eyes) thought it safer to bend towards the neighbour Town : to whose fear the King consenteth. When they had rid through the Street, behold the same Troop of Horse which they endeavour'd to avoid, they meet now coming against them, who notwithstanding offer them not the least molestation, but being saluted by them, only salute them again. Being come a little after night to *Circester* (called by the Antients the Castle of *Corinius*) at the Sign of the *Crown*, where feigning himself weary with travel, he goes into a poor Bed to refresh himself. The next Evening they reach *Marsfield*, where they lodge that night with a Kinsman of Mrs. *Janes*. The third day when they had left *Bristol* three miles on the left hand, they come to Mr. *Norton's House* ; where the King labouring as it were under a tertian Ague, Mrs. *Jane* (saying, That he was a Son of one of her Fathers Tenants) procures for him a private Chamber, with a Bed to rest in, and also Medicines to be compounded by Doctor *Gorge*, in opposition to the *Ague*.

Coming abroad in the Morning, Dr. *Gorge* enquires of him, *What*

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he heard concerning the King, and touching the Fight : But answering not appositely to the question, *I fear* (saith the Doctor) *that you have assisted the Roundheads, I'll try whether thou art of that Faction :* And presently leading him into the Celler, drinks to him *A Health to the King*, in a Glass of Wine : To whom the King drinking the like, proves clearly, that himself had never been a Person so mean, as to be of that base Rabble. The second day, as the King was eating of Bread and Cheese in the Celler, he entertains discourse with a certain bragging Fellow, that was present, who affirmed, that himself had been in the late Battel at *Worcester* ; and boasting, did babble much concerning the actions there ; of whom his Majesty asketh, *Whether he saw the King ?* *Yea, twenty times* (saith he) His Majesty asketh, *What manner of man the King was ?* Then looking earnestly upon the King (saith) *He is taller than thou by four fingers.* Afterwards, when the Mistress of the House accidentally passing through the Hall, and the King was uncovered at her presence, the Butler very intently beholding his face, and diligently observing his countenance, suspects him to be the King ; and having taken a convenient Opportunity, with great reverence and honour, falling upon his knees, most humbly desires, that he would let him know, whether he were the King or no ? The King having enjoyn'd him silence, confesseth himself to be so. This man's name was *John Pope*. one who about some five years before (when he was *Prince of Wales*) had served the King his Royal Father, in his Wars in the Western parts ; but afterwards being disbanded, he offers his service to divers Families, untill at length he was entertain'd by this Mr. *Norton*, for his Butler. After this knowledge of the King, he did his sacred Majesty many good Offices, and that with great fidelity. For first of all he is sent to *Bristol*, to enquire out a Vessel, but he could find none there bound for *Spain* or *France* within a Month. When he had told the King concerning many who had served in the Wars, under his Royal Father, the King makes choice of one Mr. *Windham*, of whose Loyalty he resolves to make the first tryal, in

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these his streights, and great extremity. This Gentleman lived in a *Village* called *Trent* in *Dorsetshire*, where the Inhabitants antiently bore the name of *Durotrigæ*.

But now the *Lord Wilmot* coming according to promise to Mr. *Norton's House*, *John Pope* brings him in the night to speak with the *King*, and by joynt advice is presently dispatched to *Trent*, to enquire, whether Mr. *Windham* was willing to entertain the *King* for his Guest, and was also able to conceal him there, untill he should meet with some convenient Opportunity of transporting himself beyond the Seas. This Loyal Gentleman, *Colonel Windham*, readily answereth, That he esteemed it the greatest felicity that could betide him, that amongst so many eminent, and most faithful Subjects, he is pleased, in so special a manner, to dignifie him with this great honour ; therefore he is resolved, not only to expose his Life, Family, and all his Fortunes, to the greatest hazards, but also to trample them under his feet, for the sake of his most Gracious *Sovereign*. Afterwards he craveth the liberty of communicating the secret, not only to his Mother, and Wife, but also to four Servants, of whom he had as great confidence for their fidelity and loyalty towards the *King*, as he had of himself. The *Lord Wilmot* consenteth, and having promised the *King's* presence there, three dayes after, about ten of the Clock, he returneth.

But Mr. *Norton's* Wife the night before was brought to bed, and in her travel escapes not without the greatest danger, so that she cannot possibly be left by her Sister (for so they called Mrs. *Jane*) in these her extremities. Therefore, that they might make a handsome excuse for their sudden departure, they feigned Letters, lately dated, and to be sent from Mrs. *Janes* Father, a Gentleman now well stricken in years ; in which Letters he complains, *That since Mrs. Janes coming away, he hath been extremely sick, and doth at present very much want her company ; and therefore commands, that without any delay or excuse whatever, if she esteem the life of a Parent, she hasten home with all the speed that may be.* The Letters being brought, and the news dispersed

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throughout the Family, Mrs. *Jane*, and Mr. *Lassels* (leaving Mrs. *Norton* in child-bed) with the Serving-man, whom his *sacred Majesty* now represents, take their leaves of this Family. *Henry Rogers*, who had brought the *Lord Wilmot* from Sir *John Winter's* House, to Mr. *Norton's*, becomes the Conductor in this Journey, and from hence they determine to take up their first quarters at *Castle-Carew*, being distant about seven Miles on this side *Trent*. As the time drew nigh, that the *King* was to come there, Mr. *Windham*, with his Wife, went forth to meet him, as if they intended to goe a walking, and privately convey in the *King*, by one designed for that purpose: Mrs. *Jane*, in the interim, with Mr. *Lassels*, goe in openly, as if they had been some Kindred of Mr. *Windham's*, coming a great Journey, and had determined to be gone from thence the next Morning.

In this place his *sacred Majesty* remained securely for nineteen dayes, looking out for a convenient Passage, to which end many wayes were attempted, though to no purpose. But it happened upon a certain day, that the Bells being rung very merrily, contrary to the common custom, by the Country Fellows, and the *King* enquiring the reason of this unusual Recreation, was told, it was for joy the *King* was dead, which was then the news current about the Country. Whilst it was long and often consulted concerning his *Majesties* transportation, a certain Merchant (whose name was *Elsden*) came into the mind of Mr. *Windham*, formerly a Captain under his Royal Father, who since that time had used the gainful Trade of a Merchant, in the Town of *Lime*, in whose power it was peradventure to provide a Ship, because he remembred that this Merchant procured a Transportation for the Lord *Barkley*, when he was in great distress. Therefore Mr. *Windham* is sent unto him, to enquire, whether he was able safely to transport the Lord *Wilmot*, and another *Noble-man*, who had lately escap'd at *Worcester* Fight. He willingly consents unto it, and goes presently to *Charmouth*, a place bordering nigh *Lime*; where applying himself to a

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Master of a Vessel,* but first of all conjuring him to secresie, asketh him, whether he were willing to perform a faithful piece of service to Lord *Wilmot*, by transporting him, and his Servant, into *France*. The man assents unto it, and conditions with the *Captain* for threescore pounds, to be paid him, by a Bill under his hand, after the *Noble-man* is arrived in *France*: The day and hour are appointed, when these ought to come aboard, in order to their Passage.

Hitherto all things quadrate well with their expectation, only they want a pretence for their tarrying in the *Inn*, untill every thing shall be in readiness for their Transportation; to this end *Henry Peters* (a Servant of Mr. *Windham's*, and one that was privy to the business) goeth to one *Margaret Wade*,† the Hostess at the Sign of the *Queens-Armes* at *Charmouth*, and amongst many other discourses, he declares himself to be a Servant to a Noble Gentleman, who did most entirely affect a young Lady, whose Parents were dead, and that she lived not far from thence; and also, that this Gentlewoman did as dearly love him again; but her *Guardian* was altogether an Enemy to the Match; wherefore he determines to steal her away privately in the night, and so to marry her. Therefore he demands, whether for a few hours she would entertain them; and withall, presents her with a small Gift, in token of a more plentiful Reward, and so drinks a Glass of Wine unto her. The Woman being tempted with the Present, and also touched with commiseration towards the young Lady, willingly promiseth her assistance in order to the work. Therefore the *King* leaving *Trent*, rides towards ‡ *Charmouth*, carrying Mrs. *Julian Conesby* (who was also privy to the Design) upon the same Horse behind him, that she might represent the person of the Bride: The *Lord Wilmot*,

* Stephen Limbry of Charmouth. He died there in 1676 and was buried on July 14 in that year.

† Margaret Wade died in 1685, the year of Monmouth's Rebellion. She was buried at Charmouth on March 23rd.

‡ They come there upon St. Matthews day, about 5. or 6. in the Evening.

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Colonel Windham, and *Henry Peters* accompanying them, they meet with *Mr. Elsdén*, and are brought into a private House.

Here his *sacred Majesty* makes himself known to *Mr. Elsdén*, giving him a small Present, as a pledge of his future gratitude. From hence the Merchant rides to *Lime*, that he might acquaint the Master of the Vessel, to have all things in readiness, in order to the Voyage, at the time appointed : The *King*, with the rest, remain at the *Inn* in *Charmouth* ; but *Henry Peters* is to wait the coming of the Boat ; he returns, having tarried untill break of day, and informs them, that there is no Boat come ; upon which news they are all troubled, and enter into a new consultation : Here is found no place for his *Majesty* to remain in, that is free from danger, and the *King* resolves not to tarry one minute.

A short consultation being had, the *King*, with *Mrs. Julian Conesby*, attended with *Colonel Windham*, rides towards *Bridport*, and tarry there, at the Sign of the *George*, being the *Inn* appointed for the coming of the Lord *Wilmot*, with *Henry Peters*, the one being to ride to *Lime*, to enquire of the Merchant the reason of this prevarication ; the other being to remain in the *Inn*, under pretence of new shoeing his Horse. But *Mr. Elsdén*, who thought they had been half their Voyage, doth exceedingly admire this breach of promise ; neither was he able to conjecture, what the cause of it should be ; unless, it being the time of the Fair (for it was kept that day at *Lime*) whilst he is taking his leave of his Friends, he drinks hard, and so forgets his promise. But afterwards it appears, that the *Ship-Master* returning home to his House, that so he might furnish himself with Linnen, and other Necessaries, for the Voyage, his Wife keeps him, by locking the Doors upon him. For upon the Fair day, there was Proclamation made in the Town, by which it was declared, *That no man living, on pain of death, was to assist the King, or to conceal him ; and a thousand pounds is to be given to any man that shall discover him.* By reason of which, this poor Woman is so affrighted, that she fears her Husband,

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for this good Office (for he had confess'd to his Wife, that he had undertaken to do it) would be taken, and hang'd. Therefore with prayers, tears, and almost offering violence to him, she endeavours against it ; at length she thunders with such Out-cries, as she was like to gather all her Neighbours about their ears, therefore being overcome by her importunity, he remain'd at home, and commits himself to be govern'd by the will of his Wife.

The *King* travelling towards *Bridport*, *Colonel Windham* rides at a little distance before him, that he might try the way ; but coming nigh the Town, he perceives it full of Souldiers ; For a Muster was appointed upon that day, and Souldiers were to be drawn out by *Captain Hayns*, for the taking *Jarsey*. Wherefore Mr. *Windham* adviseth the *King* some other way ; but his *Majesty* rides boldly into the Town, lest he should seem to deceive the Lord *Wilmot*, and partly also that he might refresh himself, being tyr'd with travel and watching, and together that he might expect the return of the Lord *Wilmot* thither. *Colonel Windham* prepares a Chamber, and Victualls for them, which was not a little difficult to be had, where there were so many Guests in the *Inn*. In the mean time the *King* leads the Horses into the Stable, and is very careful about them, and also talks with the Souldiers in the Court concerning the *Voyage*. But *Horton* the Hostler beholding his countenance, as he deliver'd the Horses, cries out aloud, *Ho Friend ! I am glad to see thee here, I know you well. How so ?* (said the *King*) *At Exeter*, saith he : (at which place the *King* remained for some time in the heat of the Wars) *I lived there Eleven years in an Inn. And I likewise* (said the *King*) *did serve Mr. Porter : I am glad that I have met with my old acquaintance ; but I see now thou art full of business, that thou canst not possibly drink with me ; but when I shall chance to return from London, we will talk more freely concerning our old affairs.* Being taken with these promises, but especially being confounded with the multitude of his business, or else God casting a cloud before his eyes, he forbears any farther discourse.

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A little after, when the Lord *Wilmot* past through the Town, they take Horse, and riding direct towards *London*, they meet many Travellers, amongst whom one formerly a Servant to *King Charles the First*; therefore they thought it most convenient to leave the common Road, and take the next Pass upon the left hand; and riding on for a considerable time, and the night approaching,* they come to a Village called *Brod-Windsor*, *Colonel Windham* rides before, to enquire where they were, and the name of the Village, and whither the way led: and as Providence would have it, happily meets with one *Jones*, an *Inn-keeper*, formerly a Servant of his, and one who had also served the *King*. He blest this good fortune, and kindly treats him, and because night had surpriz'd them, he easily obtains the accommodation of a nights lodging, for himself, and his Companions. But it was not long after this, that the *Constable* comes, attended with forty *Souldiers* at his heels, to quarter, at least in part of the House; the *Souldiers* being to hasten to the Waterside, and from thence to be transported to *Jarsey*. Now the House was so stuff with these, that his *sacred Majesty* was forced to a very great straight; neither is this the end of his trouble; for about midnight, a *Leagert-Wench*, which followed the *Souldiers*, falls in travel for Child; being noised abroad, the people of the Village run together, and with great Clamour, scold and wrangle with the *Souldiers*, about the nursing of the Child, and charge for the maintenance of the Mother; untill the day appearing, they are wearied with chiding, and the *Souldiers* being ready, hasten to take shipping.

Amongst these things, it will appear very remarkable, if we look back a little to the affairs of *Charmouth*; For it had almost come to pass, that the tarrying of the Lord *Wilmot* there, in order to the shoeing of his *Horse*, had cost him dearly, by reason of a discourse

This Hostler mistrusted that it was the King all the night, and told his Mistress so much; but she told him, he was mistaken, and that it was not so; but that he was a very good Friend of hers, though she her self believed it likewise.

* This refers to the "Miraculous Divergence," or the King's escape by turning out of the Dorchester Road into Lee Lane, Bradpole, on Tuesday, September 23, 1651 (see *post*, p. 265).

† Leager = camp. A camp-follower.

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arising between one *Henry Hull* the *Hostler*, and one *Hammet a Smith* in that place ; for the *Smith* asking from whence these Gentlemen came ? The *Hostler* answereth, *From Exeter, as they say*. To whom the *Smith* replies, *But I am confident that these Shooes were made and set in the North*. Moreover, other things being called into examination, viz. that the Horses were not unsaddled for the night, and the Travellers themselves had likewise remain'd the whole night without sleeping, and that their Servant went forth from the *Inn* exceeding early in the morning : From these things, they presently conclude, that these are *Noblemen*, who escaped from the Battel at *Worcester*, and, by many windings and turnings, are come down into these parts, and perchance the *King* himself is amongst them. From hence the hope of great reward being conceived, the *Hostler* goes to one *Westley*,* the puny Parson of the place, and a most devoted Friend to the *Parricides*, to ask his advice, what is to be done in the Case. But he being at his Morning Exercise, ought not to be disturbed ; neithre durst the *Hostler* await the end of his long-breathed† Devotions, for fear he should lose his Scutee,‡ at the Gentleman's departing, and therefore returning without his Errands end, suffers the Gentleman to ride away unmolested. This Story being noised abroad by the *Smith*, behold how *Westley*, this pittifull dwindling Parson, posteth to the *Inn*-keeper, and with most eager Blatterations catechiseth him concerning what Travellers he had lodged that night ; from whence they came, and whither they would ; and what they did there ; but his suspicions being increased by the answers he received, he runs to *Butler*§ the next Justice of the Peace, requiring a Warrant, in which

This Westley is since a Nonconformist, and lives by the practice of Physick in the same place : He told a good Gentlewoman, That he was confident, if ever the King did come in again, he would love long Prayers ; for had he not been then longer than ordinary at his Devotions, he had surely snapt him.

* See *ante*, Introduction, p. 41.

† Or bloody Prayers.

‡ A present of money. A scute in the reign of Henry V was declared to be worth half a noble.

§ Robert Butler, J.P., was included in the Commission of the Peace for Dorset in 1647. Was a prominent Committee-man and sometime Governor of Wareham. *Vide* Canon Mayo's *Dorset Standing Committee*, 1646-1650.

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he would excite and stir up the people, upon all quarters, together with the Souldiers, to endeavour the apprehending of the *King*; the Justice refusing to do it, *Captain Massy*, now living in *Lime*, and seeing the matter required hast, gathers as many Souldiers as he was able, and followeth after them, directly in the way towards *London*, until he came to *Dorcester*. But as it was clear, by a most Divine Instinct the *King* was turned another way, and so the *Captain* losing his hopes, returns from whence he came.

Hereupon the Souldiers, throughout the whole neighbour-hood, fret, and are exceedingly concerned, and narrowly examine all private places, and diligently search the houses of suspicious persons; especially *Sir Hugh Windham's* (whose Nephew *Colonel Windham* was) where they most accurately look into all the chests, and corners of the House, and violently apprehending the whole Family, they suspect a young Gentlewoman, of exceeding great Beauty, and rare endowments, as if she had been the *King* disguised; neither did they discharge her of this suspicion, before they had tried by undoubted experiment, of what Sex she was.

But indeed the footsteps of *Kings* are to be hunted with a narrower search. Consultation being held, it is decreed, that the *King*, in the depth of the night, is to return to *Trent*; and in the mean time, the Lord *Wilmot*, with *Henry Peters*, are to hasten to *Sarisbury*, that there the Lord *Wilmot* might consult with Mr. *John Coventry* (the eldest Son, by a second Wife, of the Lord *Coventry*, sometime *Keeper* of the *Great-Seal*) by what means, either a safe Passage might be obtained for the *King* beyond the Seas, or at least a new place of shelter might be procured for him; it being to be feared, lest his tarrying in one and the same place so long, should at length prove the cause of his discovery. At last consultation being had with Mr. *Coventry*, he rides to a Widows, by name Mrs. *Hide*, who lived in a Village called *Heale*, about a mile distant from *Sarisbury*, that she might provide a private place for the reception of his *Majesty*; and Mr. *Robert Philips*, who as

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a *Colonel* had served in the Wars of *Charles* the First, is sent to *Southampton*, to provide for a Passage. The *Noble Colonel* returning from thence, informs, that there is a *Ship* in readiness, and all things necessary in order to Transportation. But it most unhappily falls out (whilst his *sacred Majesty* was coming to *Mrs. Hides* House) that the same *Ship* was hired by the *Parricides*, to carry *Souldiers*, and Provisions, which were to be transported for *Jarsey*. This hope vanishing, *Colonel Philips* earnestly desires in this business the assistance of *Colonel Gunter*, whom he meets withall by chance. In the mean time the *King* comes by night to the Widows House, and being gladly received, *Dr. Hinchman*, now Bishop of *London*, amongst other Guests, sits at Table with him; but having supped, he discovers himself privately to the Widow, and enquires for the retiring-place which was appointed for him; and although she had never seen him but once, and that only as he passed by, which was about seven years before, yet she knew him at his very first entrance. It is advised that he depart from thence towards *London* in the Morning about Sun-rising, but wheeling about his journey, he is to be in readiness about One of the Clock in the Afternoon, and is to be received into the House through a back Door: For that day there was a Fair to be kept at *Sarisbury*, and by this slight all the Servants being dismiss, are freed from the least mistrust, and he himself is to be received, without the knowledge of any: This was not only consulted, but effected also; for the *King*, with *Colonel Philips*, afterwards, under a pretence only, take their leaves of *Mrs. Hide*, and mounting a horseback, they goe to visit *Stonhenge*, but returned at the hour appointed; where the *Colonel* conveigheth away the Horses. The *King* is hid in a certain private place, which they had made in the time of the Wars, to hide their Jewells, and other Goods of greatest consequence.

Whilst these things are in agitation, a *Ship* is hired, by the industry of *Colonel Gunter*, at *Brighthelmsted*, amongst the *Regnoie of Sussex*: which being once known, and all things necessary, in order to

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a Transportation, being procured, his *sacred Majesty* doth now unfeignedly take his leave of Mrs. *Hide*, and with Colonel *Philips*, rides by night unto Mr. *Simmon's* House, near *Portsmouth*; but the next day, towards the Evening, he goes to the Inn at *Brighthelmsted*; where, besides the *King*, there sate at Supper, Colonel *Gunter*, the Lord *Wilmot*, Mr. *Mansel* the Merchant, and Mr. *Tetershel* the Master of the Vessel, who sate opposite to the *King*. Mr. *Tetershel* rising from Supper, calls out the Merchant, *scil.* Mr. *Mansel*, apart by himself, and complains he hath done him wrong, for he hath deceived him, substituting the *King* under the person of another. Mr. *Mansel* strongly denies it, and presses him to make good his promise. But he confidently on the other side affirms that it was the *King*, who being meanly clothed, doth pretend himself a Servant, and was cloak'd under the disguise of a poor Fellow: And this he knew right well, because formerly his Ship being bound for *New-Castle*, to fetch Coals from thence, was seized upon in the *Downs*, and he, with others, desiring to be released, that he himself dismiss them. But the Merchant could not be ignorant of the late *Proclamation*, in which all are forbid, under pain of death, to administer the least help or assistance unto him; and a large reward, *viz.* a thousand pounds, is promised to any that shall discover him. Mr. *Mansel* perceiving that the thing was known unto the Master, informs the *King* of it privately, who understanding his temper, and the civility of his carriage, goeth with the Lord *Wilmot* unto him, with promises of large rewards, and gives him presently a sufficient Salary for the Passage. He promising fidelity, goes from thence to prepare all things in readiness, in order to the *Voyage*. The Ship was distant about four Miles from hence, in a Village called *Shoram*, half loaden with Coals, which they had not as yet sold off; and the Seamen abiding for the most part in *Brighthelmsted*, therefore at midnight he calls upon them that they would presently rise, and with all speed goe aboard the *Vessel*, under pretence the *Anchors* were loose, and the Ship is now in danger to fall upon the Rocks or Quick-sands, himself being about

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instantly to come after. Moreover, he appoints his Wife to buy in the Town a Bottle of Strong-Water, and to fill another with Sack, and to provide him his Linnen, which he was to carry with them. But she enquires, *Why he went away so late in the Night, and whether the Morning would not serve his turn?* And when she perceived him more earnest, and would not endure the least delay, *It is the King* (saith the poor Woman) *I believe, you are about to transport: but God grant that thou mayest be serviceable unto him, in delivering him out of the hands of his Enemies; and that this may be affected, I care not, if hence-forwards, both my self, and Children, all the dayes of our lives, beg for our livings.* Also the *Inn-keeper*, having drank freely, goes to the *King* something rudely, and taking him by the hand, kisseth it, saying, *Who you are, or from whence you come, or whither you will, I know not: Nevertheless, I beseech God to preserve and keep you; but if I am not mistaken, I shall be an Earl, and my Wife a Countess.*

The time for their going a Ship-board drawing nigh, they take their Horses, and ride to the Seaside; but the *Master* of the Vessel pretends, the remainder of the Coals were to be sold by these Merchants at the *Isle of Wight*, and therefore is about to set sayl for that place. They take Ship about five of the Clock in the Morning, and spent a great part of the day in coasting about the shore; in the Afternoon, the *Master* of the Ship bends his sayls, or is about to stand towards the *Isle of Wight*. But the *Lord Wilmot*, who pretends to be the principal Person, as if his mind had changed with the wind, after a little while dispute openly before all the Seamen (as was before agreed between him and the *Master*) changes his purpose for a *Voyage* into *France*; and about the Evening they arrive at * *Fecan*, a small Port in *Normandy*, and so at last obtain the welcome shore. As they sayled along, the *Master* of the Ship greatly admired, that the *King's Majesty* better understood Navigation, and the order of the *Voyage*, than himself. Neither is it likewise to be past by with silence, what an

* *Deip*. This is a mistake. It should be *Fécamp*.

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ignorant Sea-man (as sometimes a man is ingenious by chance) very wittily answered ; For whilst they were under sayl, the *King* sitting with the *Master* of the Ship in the Cabin, a plain Sea-man coming in, sits down in the next place to the *King*, and there puffing with his Pipe of *Tobacco* : which the *Master* of the Ship not liking, bids him presently to goe forth with his *Smoak*, and not to disturb the Gentleman ; but he grumbling whilst he went forth, saith, *A Cat may look upon a King* : which is a common Proverb used in our *English Nation*.

His *sacred Majesty* was now arrived upon the *French* shore, where having first given humble thanks to *Almighty God, the Watchman and Preserver of Kings, the Governour of Sea and Land, and the most merciful Pacifier of Wind and Waves*, expresseth all kindness to the *Master* of the Ship, courteously inviting him to live and abide with him ; but he wishing the *King* all prosperity, chose rather (though not without great danger) to re-visit his own House and Family ; wherefore he takes Ship, and the Wind suddenly turning, that very night he reacheth *Pool*, a Haven in *Dorsetshire*, and sold his Coals there. The *King* coming to *Roan*, takes acquaintance with two Merchants, Mr. *Sambourn*, and Mr. *Parker*, who parting his old Clothes between them, as if they had been the Reliques of Saints, put his *Majesty* into new, and more becoming Apparel. Here Dr. *Earl*, now *Bishop* of *Sarisbury* (who formerly had been his *Majesties Chaplain*, and was then by chance at *Roan*) came to visit him, but at the first sight knew him not, whether that it were, because his Countenance was more sullied than ordinary, and his head spoyled of the former ornament of his hair, did obscure his *Majestical presence* ; or the Doctor's mind astonished with so unexpected an object, had blunted his sight ; certain it is, that he could not find *Charles* in *Charles* ; till having longer, and more earnestly beheld him, at last, full of joy, he threw himself at the feet of his dear *Lord* and *Master*, as well to deprecate the fault of his slow duty, as to give vent to his passionate gratulations.

The next day (the fame of this accident having speedily reached

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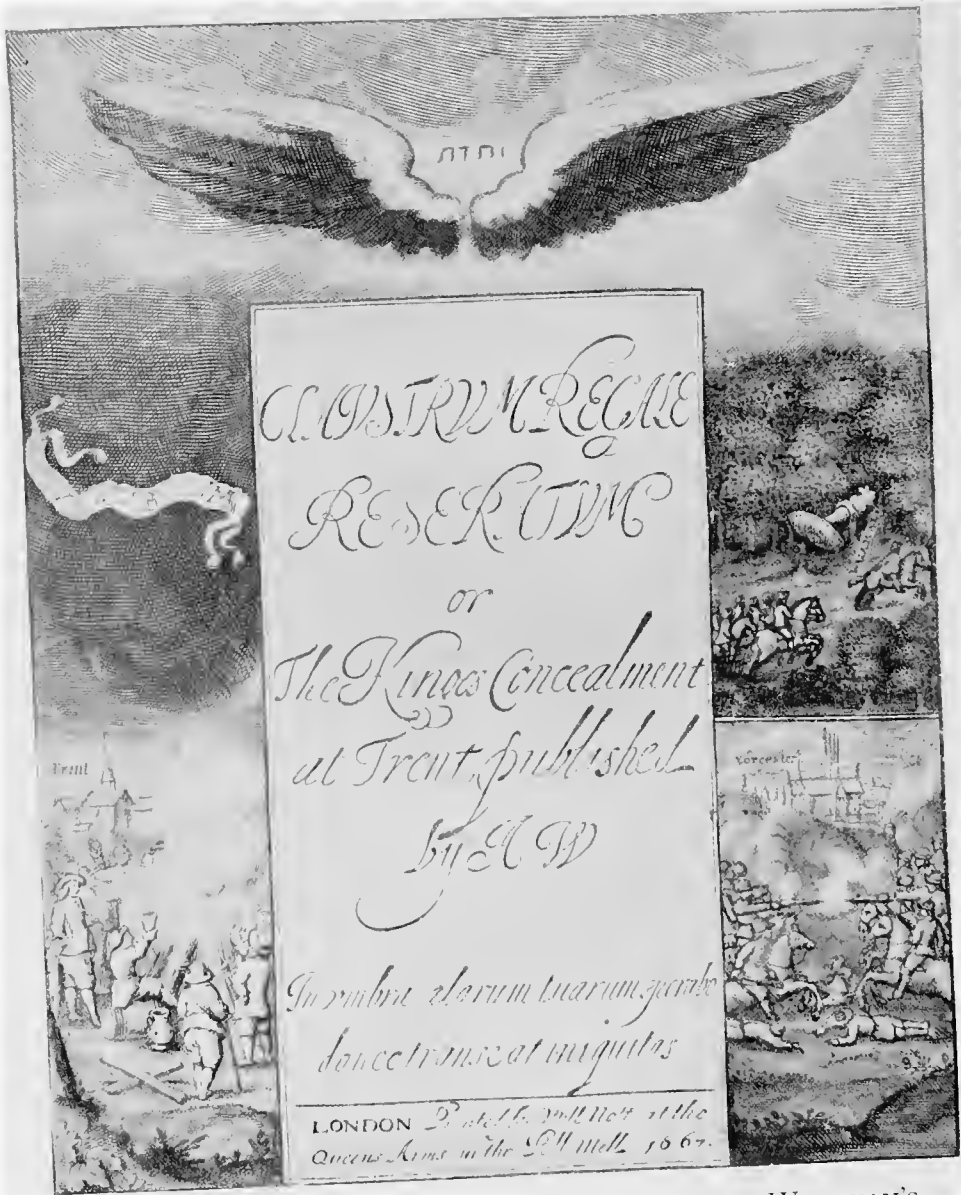
Paris) the *Queen of England*, the *Duke of Orleans*, with a great Company of *Nobles*, goe forth to welcome him, and conduct him into the *City*, with great applause of the People. They embrace him, they pronounce him preserved for the Joy and Delight of Mankind, they call him *The Hope and Strength of England*, they heartily pray, that God would ever keep and preserve him.

Thus did that *sacred Person* escape the snares and malice of his blood-thirsty Enemies, by whom all true *English* men triumph over their Persecutors ; of whose precious Life, if God himself had not taken the charge, it had very many times unavoidably perished, and been utterly destroyed. That amongst so many Persons of the meanest rank, so many of a contrary Religion, so many of the Female Sex (whose natural proness is not easily restrained from prating) so many timorous, to whom 'tis death enough to hear it threatned, and lastly, so many poor or penylesse Persons, and of broken Fortunes, who could not but well approve the tender of a great summ, that for two Months together, he should not be betrayed, is plainly (if ever there were a greater) the most Miraculous Work of a Divine Hand.

VII

Clastrum Regale
Reseratum*

* *i.e.* “The King’s place of retirement unlocked.” The word *Clastrum* is very rarely used in the singular.



THE TITLE-PAGE OF THE FIRST EDITION OF ANNE WYNDHAM'S
 CLASTRUM REGALE RESERATUM (1667)

(From the copy in possession of the writer)

TO THE
QUEEN'S
Most Excellent
MAJESTY

This little Book having obtained liberty, after a long Imprisonment, to walk abroad, prostrates itself at Your Majesties feet for patronage and protection. In it Your Majesty may behold God's wonderful Mercy & Providence, in keeping and preserving our Gracious Sovereign from the hands of His Enemies, when they so pleased themselves with the hopes of seising this Sacred Person after the Battel of WORCESTER, as they had invented & prepared new ways to afflict His Majesty, such as till then never entered into the hearts of the worst Tyrants before them. But it pleased God to frustrate the hopes & designs of the King's Adversaries, and to restore His Majesty to His Fathers Throne : which that he may long enjoy with Your Majesty, in Health, Peace & Happiness, Is, and shall be the prayers of

Your MAJESTIE'S
Most obedient & most
Faithful Servant
ANNE WYNDHAM*

* See Introduction, p. 40.

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Clastrum Regale Reseratum

or

The KING's

CONCEALMENT

AT

TRENT.

How that after the Battel of *Worcester*, His Sacred Majesty most wonderfully escaped the hands of his blood-thirsty Enemies, and (under a Disguise, in the company of Mrs *Jane Lane*) safely arrived at *Abbots Leigh* in Somersetshire, (the seat of Sir George Norton, lying near to the City of Bristol) hath been fully published unto the World. His Majesties Journey from thence to the house of Colonel *Francis Wyndham* at *Trent* in the same County, his Stay there, his Endeavour (though frustrate) to get over into *France*, his Return to *Trent*, his final Departure thence to his happy Transportation, are the subject of this present Relation. A Story, in which the Constellations of Providence are so refulgent, that their light is sufficient to confute all the Atheists of the world, and to enforce all persons (whose faculties are not pertinaciously depraved) to acknowledge a watchful Eye of GOD from above, looking upon all the Actions of Men here below, making even the most wicked subservient to his just & glorious designs. And indeed, whatsoever the Antients fabled of *Gyges's* Ring, by which he could render himself Invisible, or the Poets fancied of their Gods, who usually carried their chief Favourites in the Clouds, and by drawing those aerial Curtains, did so conceal them, that they were heard & seen of none, whilst they both heard & saw others, is here most certainly verified. For, the Almighty so closely covered the King with the wing of his Protection, and so clouded the Understanding of his cruel Enemies that the most piercing Eye of

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Malice could not see, nor the most Barbarously-bloody Hand offer Violence to his Sacred Person. . . .

But before the several Particulars of this story are laid open, two Questions (easily foreseen) which will be readily asked by every Reader, call for an Answer. The one is, Why this Relation so much expected, so much longed for, has been kept up all this while from publick view ? And the other, How it came to pass, that now it takes the liberty to walk abroad ? Concerning the first, it must be known, that a Narrative of these Passages was (by especial command from his Majesty) written by the Colonels own hand, immediately after the Kings return into *England* ; which (being presented to his Majesty) was laid up in the Royal Cabinet, there to rest for some time, it being the King's pleasure (for reasons best known to his Sacred self) that it should not then be published.

And as his Majesties command to keep it private, is a satisfactory answer to the first ; so, his licence now obtained that it might travel abroad, may sufficiently resolve the second question. But besides this, many prevalent reasons there are, which plead for a publication ; the chief of which are briefly these. That the implacable Enemies of this Crown may be for ever silenced & ashamed ; who having neither Law, nor Religion to patronize their unjust undertakings, construed a bare Permission to be a Divine Approbation of their Actions ; and (taking the Almighty to be such a one as themselves) blasphemously entitled God to be the Author of all their wickedness. But the arm of God stretched out from heaven to the rescue of the King, cutting off the clue of their Success, even then when they thought they had spun up their thread, hath not left them so much as an apron of fig-leaves to cover the nakedness of their most shameful proceedings.

The next is, That the Truth of his Majesties Escape (being minced by some, mistaken by others, and not fully set forth by any) might appear in its native beauty & splendor : That as every dust of gold is gold, and every ray of light is light ; so every jot & title

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of Truth being Truth, not one grain of the Treasure, not one beam of the lustre of this Story might be lost or clouded ; it being so rare, so excellent, that aged Time out of all the Archives of Antiquity can hardly produce a Parallel. Singularly admirable indeed it is, if we consider the Circumstances & Actors. The Colonel (who chiefly designed, and moved in this great affair) could not have had the freedom to have served his Majesty, had he not been a prisoner ; his very Confinement giving him both a liberty, and protection to act. For, coming home from Weymouth upon his Parole, he had the opportunity to travel freely & safely, without fear of being stopped, or taken up : and being newly removed from Sherborne to Trent, the jealous eye of *Somersetshire* Potentates had scare then found him out, whose malevolent Aspect afterwards seldom suffered him to live at home, and too too often furnished his house with very unwelcom guests. Others, who contributed their assistance, were persons of both sexes, and of very different conditions & qualities : And although their endeavours often proved successless, though they received discouragements on one hand, were terrified with threats on the other ; That a seal of silence should be imprinted upon the lips of Women, who are become proverbial for their garrulity ; That faithfulness & constancie should guard the hearts of Servants, who are usually corrupted with rewards, or affrighted with punishments (most powerful passions, heightened by Capital animadversions proclaimed against All that should conceal, and large Remunerations promised to such as should discover the King) could work nothing upon any single person, so as to remove him or her from their respective duty, but that all should so harmoniously concenter, both in the Design, and also afterward keep themselves so long close shut up under the lock of secrecy, that nothing could be discovered by the most exquisite art & cunning, till the blessed Restauration of his Majesty to his glorious Throne, so filled their hearts with joy, that it broke open the door of their lips, and let their tongue loose to tell the Miracle to the amazed World,

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would (were not the Persons yet alive, and the story fresh in memory) rarifie it into a Romance.

The reproaches & scandals, by which some envious persons have sought to diminish & vilifie the faithful services, which the Colonel out of the integrity of his soul performed unto his Majesty, shall not here be mentioned : Because by taking up dirt to bespatter him, they defile their own hands, & the gun they level at his Reputation, recoils to the wounding of their own.

These things thus promised, by way of Introduction, open the Gate, through which you may enter, and in the ensuing Pages (as in several Tables) take a full view of the Particulars.

The Disguise his Majesty put on, secured him from the Cruelty of his Enemies ; but could not altogether hide him from the prying eyes of his dutiful Subjects. For in the time of his stay at *Leigh*, one *John Pope* (then Butler to Sir *George Norton*, but formerly a Soldier for the King in the West) through all these clouds espied the most Illustrious Person of the King. With him his Majesty (after he was himself discovered) was pleased familiarly to discourse ; And speaking of the great sufferings of very many of his Friends in the Western parts (most whereof were well known to *Pope*) his Majesty enquired if he knew Colonel Francis Wyndham, who (in the time of the late Wars) was Governor of *Dunster Castle* ? Very well, Sir, answered *Pope*. The King then demanded what was become of him ? *Pope* replies, That the Colonel had married Mrs *Anne Gerard*, one of the daughters & heiresses of *Thomas Gerard Esq* ; late of *Trent* in *Somersetshire*, and that he had newly brought thither his Mother (the Lady Wyndham) his Wife & family, and that he believed the Colonel intended there to reside & live. His Majesty having received the intelligence concerning the Colonel, together with an exact information of the scituation of *Trent*, sought an opportunity to Speak with Mrs *Lane* (from whom, the better to conceal himself, he then kept at a distance) and by means of Mr *Lassels* (who accompanied the King in

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this journey) obtaining his desire, his Majesty with much contentment imparted to *Mrs Lane* what *Pope* had informed him concerning Colonel *Wyndham*, and his habitation ; telling her withall, That if she could bring him thither, he should not much doubt of his safety.

In this very point of times comes the Lord *Henry Wilmot* (since Earl of *Rochester*) from *Dirham* in *Gloucestershire* (the seat of *John Winter* Esq ; a person of known loyalty & integrity) to *Leigh*. My Lord had attended his Majesty in his passage Westward, and on Friday morning (*September* the 13) met accidentally Captain *Thomas Abington* of *Dowdswell* in the County the *Gloucester* at *Pinbury Park* ; and being known by the Captain (who had served under his Lordship in the Wars) was that night by him conducted to Mr *Winter's*, from whom his Lordship (as he has often since acknowledged) received great Civilities. *Mrs Lane* presently reveals to Lord *Wilmot* the King's resolution to remove to *Trent* ; whereupon my Lord demanded of *Henry Rogers* (Mr *Winter's* servant, and his Lordships guide from *Dirham* to *Leigh*) whether he knew *Trent* ? He answered, that Colonel *Wyndham* & his Master had married two Sisters, and that he had often Waited on his Master thither. These things so happily concurring, his Majesty commanded the Lord *Wilmot* to haste to *Trent*, and to ascertain the Colonel of his speedy Approach.

His Lordship took leave, and continuing *Rogers* for his guide, with one *Robert Swan*, arrived at *Trent* the sixteenth of *September*. *Rogers* was sent in forthwith to the Colonel to acquaint him, that a Gentleman a friend of his, desired the favour of him, that he would please to step forth & speak with him. The Colonel enquiring of *Rogers*, whether he knew the Gentleman or his business ? answered, No, he understood nothing at all, but only that he was called by the name of *Mr. Morton*. Then without further discourse the Colonel came forth, and found the Gentleman walking near the Stable ; whom as soon as he approached, (although it was somewhat dark) he saluted by the title of *My Lord Wilmot*. His Lordship

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seemed to wonder that he should be known, but it was nothing strange considering the Colonels former acquaintance with him, being one of the first that engaged under his Command, in his late Majesties service : Besides, his Lordship was not in the least altered, except a Hawk on his fist, and a Lure by his side might pass for a Disguise. This Confidence of his Lordship really begat admiration in the Colonel, calling to mind the great danger he was in, and whose Harbinger he was ; For he advertised the Colonel, that the King himself was on his way to *Trent*, intending that very night to lodge at *Castle Cary* (a town six miles thence) hoping by Gods assistance, to be with him about ten of the clock next morning.

At this joyful news the Colonel was transported (there having run a report, that his Majesty was slain in the Fight at *Worcester*) and giving God thanks for his wonderful mercy, he assured his Lordship, *That for his Majesties preservation he would value neither his life, family, nor fortune, and would never injure his Majesties confidence of him ; Not doubting, but that God who had led his Majesty through the midst of such inexpressible dangers, would deliver him from all these barbarous threats, and bloody inventions of his Enemies.* With these & such like expressions, the Colonel brought the Lord *Wilmot* into his parlour, where he received an exact account of his Majesties condition & present affairs.

Next morning, the Colonel found it necessary to acquaint the Lady Wyndham his mother, and also his own Lady, with the particulars the Lord *Wilmot* had overnight imparted to him, concerning the King. The relation he gave them, did not (through the weakness of their sex) bring upon them any womanish passion, but surprized with joy, they most cheerfully resolve (without the least show of fear) to hazard all, for the safety of the King. And so (begging Gods blessing upon their future endeavours) they contrive how his Majesty might be brought into the house, without any suspicion to their family, consisting of above twenty persons. Amongst them

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therefore, *Mrs Juliana Coningsby* (the Lady *Wyndham's* neece) *Eliano Withers*, *Joan Halsenoth*, and *Henry Peters** (whose loyalty to the King, and fidelity to themselves, they had sufficiently experienced) are made privy to their design. Next they consider what Chambers are fittest for his Majesties reception. Four are made choice of; amongst which, the Lady *Wyndham's* was counted most convenient for the day-time, where the servants might wait with most freedom upon his Majesty. Then a safe place is provided to retreat unto, in case of search, or imminent danger: And lastly, Employments are designed to remove all others out of the way at the instant of his Majesties arrival. All which after a while, answered their desires, even beyond their expectation.

Between nine and ten the next morning the Colonel & his Lady walking towards the fields adjoining to the house, espied the King riding before *Mrs Lane*, & *Mr Lassels* in their company. As soon as his Majesty came near the Colonel, He called to him *Frank, Frank! how dost thou do?* By which gracious pleasance the Colonel perceived, that though his Majesties habit & countenance were much changed, yet his Heroick spirit was the same, and his mind immutable. The Colonel (to avoid the jealous eyes of some neighbours) instantly conveyed the King & *Mrs Lane* into the Lady *Wyndham's* Chamber, where the passions of Joy and Sorrow did a while combat in them, who beheld his Sacred Person: For what loyal eyes could look upon so Glorious a Prince thus eclipsed, and not pay unto him the homage of tears? But the consideration of his Majesties safety, the gracious words of his own mouth confuting the sad reports of his untimely death, together with the hope of his future preservation, soon dried them up. In a short time the Colonel brought the Lord *Wilmot* to the King, and then the Ladies withdrew into the Parlour, having first agreed to call *Mrs Lane* Cousin, and to entertain her with the same

* I have failed to find any mention of these persons in the parish registers of Trent, where the writer of *Clastrum Regale Reseratum* is buried.

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familiarity as if she had been their near Relation. That day she stayed at *Trent*, and the next morning early Mr *Lassels* & she departed.

His Majesty, after he had refreshed himself, commanded the Colonel in the presence of the Lord *Wilmot*, to propose, what way he thought most probable for his Escape into *France*; for thither he desired with all speed to be transported. The Colonel (the King giving him this opportunity) entertained & encouraged his Majesty with this remarkable passage of Sir *Thomas Wyndham* (his Father) *Who, not long before his death (in the year 1636) called unto his five Sons, (having not seen them together in some years before) and discoursed unto us [said he] of the long Peace & Prosperity this Kingdom had enjoyed under its Three last Glorious Monarchs: Of the many Miseries & Calamities which lay sore upon our Ancestors, by the several Invasions & Conquests of Foreign Nations, and likewise by Intestine Insurrections & Rebellions. And notwithstanding the strange mutations & Changes in England, He shewed, how it pleased God in love to our Nation to preserve an undoubted Succession of Kings, to sit in the Regal Throne. He mentioned the healing Conjunction of the two Houses of York and Lancaster, and the blessed Union of the two Crowns of England and Scotland, stopping up those fountains of Blood, which by National feuds & quarrels kept open had like to have drowned the whole Island. He said, he feared the beautiful garment of Peace would shortly be torn in pieces through the Neglect of Magistrates, the general Corruption of Manners, and the prevalence of a Puritanical faction, which (if not prevented) would undermine the very pillars of Government. My sons! We have hitherto seen serene & quiet times; but now prepare yourselves for cloudy & troublesom. I command you to honour & obey our Gracious Sovereign, and in all times to adhere to the Crown; and though the Crown should hang upon a Bush, I charge you forsake it not. These words being spoken with much earnestness, both in gesture & manner extraordinary, he arose from his chair, and left us in a deep consultation what the meaning should be of—The Crown hanging upon a Bush. These words, Sir, (said the Colonel) made so firm an*

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impression in all our breasts, that the many afflictions of these sad Times cannot raze out their undelible characters. Certainly these are the days which my father pointed out in that Expression: And I doubt not, God hath brought me through so many dangers, that I might shew myself both a dutiful son, and a loyal Subject, in faithfully endeavouring to serve your Sacred Majesty, in this your greatest Distress.

After this Rehearsal, the Colonel (in obedience to his Majesties command) told the King, That Sir *John Strangways* (who had given many testimonies of his loyalty, having two Sons, both of them Colonels for his Royal Father) lived but four miles from *Trent*. That he was a person of great fortune & interest in *Dorsetshire*, and therefore he supposed that either Sir *John*, or his Sons, might be serviceable to his Majesties occasions. The King in prosecution of this proposal, commanded the Colonel to wait on them; and accordingly the next morning he went over to *Melbury*, the place where Sir *John* dwelt. No sooner was he come thither, but he met with Colonel *Giles Strangways*,* and after usual salutations, they walked into the Park adjoining

* *Giles Strangways* of *Melbury*, an ancestral kinsman of the Earl of *Ilchester*, played an all-important part in Dorset history during the Civil War, although his name finds no place in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. After the Restoration a superb medal in his honour was executed by *John Roettier* as one of the intended series ordered by *Charles II* of distinguished sufferers in the royal cause. I possess specimens of it both in gold and silver. *Vide Medalllic Illustrations*, Vol I, pp. 333-4. The design of the reverse of the medal, i.e. the White Tower of London, surmounted by the Royal Standard, above which the sun is bursting from a cloud, was designed by the King himself. *Giles Strangways* was born at *Melbury* in 1615, commanded a regiment of horse in the King's service in the West, was persecuted by the Parliament, heavily fined and imprisoned in the Tower with his father. At the Restoration he represented his native county in the House of Commons, and is frequently mentioned in *Pepys's* diary. In the sixteenth year of *Charles II's* reign he was the senior representative of *Bridport*. Below *Loggan's* fine portrait of him is the following inscription :—

“Colonel *Giles Strangways* of *Melbury Sampford* in *Dorsetshire*.

The rest fame speakes, & makes his Virtues known
By's Zeale for the Church, & Loyalty to th' Throne.
The Artist in this Draft, doth Art excell
None but Himself, himself can paralell
But if his *Steel* could his great Mind express,
That would appear in a much nobler Dress.”



Colonel GILES STRANGWAYS of Melbury Sampford in Dorsetshire

The rest Fame speaks, and makes His Virtues Known
By's Zeal for th' Church, and Loyalty to th' Throne.
The Artist in this Draught, doth Art excell:
None but Himselfe, himselfe can paralell.
But if his *Steel* could His great Mind expresse,
That ~~would~~ appear in a much nobler Dreſs.

GILES STRANGWAYS, OF MELBURY, WHO ASSISTED CHARLES WITH
MONEY AT TRENT

(From the rare original print in the collection of the writer)

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to the house, where Colonel *Wyndham* imparted the reason & end of his present Visit. Colonel *Strangways* his answer was, That he was infinitely grieved, because he was not able to serve his Majesty in procuring a Vessel according to expectation ; That he knew not of any one Master of a Ship, or so much as one Mariner that he could trust : All that were formerly of his acquaintance in *Weymouth*, being for their loyalty banished, and gone beyond the sea ; and in *Pool & Lime* he was a meer stranger, having not one Confident in either. A hundred pounds in Gold he delivered to Colonel *Wyndham* to present to the King ; which, at his return, by command was deposited in the hands of the Lord *Wilmot*, for his Majesties use.

About this time the forces under *Cromwell* were retreated from *Worcester* into the several Quarters of the Country ; some of which coming to Trent, proclaimed the Overthrow of the King's Army and the Death of the King, giving out that he was certainly killed : And one of them affirmed that he saw him dead, and that he was buried among the rest of the slain, no injury being offered to his body, because he was a Valiant Soldier, and a Gallant man. This welcome Newes so tickled the Sectaries, that they could not hold from expressing their joy by making Bonfires, firing of Guns, Drinking, and other jollities. And for a close of all, to the Church they must, and there ring the Kings Knell. These rude Extravagancies moved not his Majesty at all, but onely (as if he was more troubled for their madness, than his own misfortune) to this most Christian & compassionate expression, *Alas, poor people !*

Now though the King valued not the menaces of his proud Enemies, being confident they could do him no hurt ; yet he neglected not to try the faithfulness of his Friends to convey him out of their reach. Thus the former design proving unsuccessful, and all hope of Transpetation that way being laid aside, the Colonel acquainted his Majesty, that one Captain *William Ellesden* of *Lime** (formerly well

* See *ante*, Historical Introduction, p. 42.

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known unto him) with his brother *John Ellesden* (by means of Colonel *Bullen Reymes* of Wadden in *Dorsetshire*) had conveyed over into France Sir *John Berkley* (now Lord *Berkley*) in a time of danger. To this Captain therefore his Majesty sends the Colonel, who lodging at his house in *Lime*, took an opportunity to tell him, that the Lord *Wilmot* had made his escape from *Worcester*; that he lay privily near to him; and that his Lordship had earnestly solicited him to use his utmost endeavours to secure him from the hands of his pursuers. To this purpose he was come to town, and assured the Captain, if he would joyn in this affair, his courtesie should never be forgotten. The Captain very cordially embraced the motion, and went with the Colonel to *Charmouth* (a little place near *Lime*) where at an *Inne*, he brought to him a Tenant of his, one *Stephen Limbry*, assuring the Colonel that he was a right honest man, and a perfect Royalist. With this *Limbry* Colonel *Wyndham* treated under the name of Captain *Norris*, and agreed with him to transport himself & three or four friends into *France*. The conditions of their Agreement were; That before the two & twentieth day of that instant *September*, *Limbry* should bring his Vessel into *Charmouth-Road*, and on the said two & twentieth, in the night should receive the Colonel & the his company into his Long-boat from the Beach near *Charmouth*, from thence carry them to his Ship, and so land them in *France*. This the Colonel conjured *Limbry* to perform with all secresie, because all the Passengers were of the Royal party, and intended to be shipped without leave, to avoid such Oaths and Engagements, which otherwise would be forced upon them: And therefore Privacie in this transaction would free him from Danger, and themselves from Trouble, the true cause why they so earnestly thirsted (for some time) to leave their native country. *Limbry's* Salary was Sixty pounds, which the Captain engaged to pay at his return from *France*, upon sight of a Certificate under the Passengers hands of their landing there. To the performance of these Covenants, *Limbry* with many vows & protestations

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obliging himself, the Colonel with much satisfaction, and speed came back to his Majesty & the Lord *Wilmot* at Trent, who at the narration of these passages expressed no small contentment.

The business being thus successfully laid, the King consults how it might be prudentially managed, that so there might be no miscarriage in the prosecution. Necessary it was that his Majesty & all his Attendants (contrary to the use of Travellers) should sit up all night in the *Inne* at *Charmouth*; that they ought to have the command of the house, to go in & out at pleasure, the Tide not serving till twelve at night. To remove therefore all suspicion & Inconveniences, this Expedient was found out.

Henry Peters (Colonel *Wyndham's* servant) was sent to *Charmouth Inne*, who inviting the Hostess to drink a glass of wine, told her, That he served a very gallant Master, who had long most affectionately loved a Lady in *Devon*, and had the happiness to be well beloved by her; and though her Equal in birth & fortune, yet so unequal was his fate, that by no means could he obtain her Friends consent: And therefore it was agreed between them, that he should carry her thence, and marry her among his own Allies. And for this purpose his Master had sent him to desire her to keep the best Chambers for him, intending to be at her house upon the two & twentieth day of that moneth in the evening; where he resolved not to lodge, but only to refresh himself & friends, and so travel on either that night, or very early next morning. With this Love-story (thus contrived & acted) together with a Present delivered by *Peters* from his Master, the Hostess was so well pleased, that she promised him, her house & servants should be at his Master's command. All which she very justly performed.

When the day appointed for his Majesties journey to *Charmouth* was come, he was pleased to ride before Mrs *Juliana Coningsby* (the Lady *Wyndham's* Niece) as formerly before Mrs *Lane*: The Colonel was his Majesties Guide, whilst the Lord *Wilmot* with *Peters* kept at a

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convenient distance, that they might not seem to be all of one company.

In this manner travelling, they were timely met by Captain *Elesden*, and by him conducted to a private house of his Brothers among the hills near *Charmouth*. There his Majesty was pleased to discover himself to the Captain, and to give him a piece of forein Gold, in which in his solitary hours he made a hole to put a ribbin in. Many like pieces his Majesty vouchsafed the Colonel & his Lady, to be kept as records of his Majesties favour, and of their own fidelity to his most Sacred Person in the day of his greatest Trial. All which they have most thankfully treasured up as the chiefest Jewels of their Family.

The Royal Company from thence came to the Inne at *Charmouth*, a little after night ; where Captain *Elesden* solemnly engaging to see the Master of the Ship ready, (the wind blowing then fair for France) took leave of his Majesty. About an hour after came *Limbry* to the Inne, & assured the Colonel all things were prepared, and that about midnight his Long-boat should wait at the place appointed. The set hour drawing nigh, the Colonel with *Peters* went to the Sea-side (leaving his Majesty & the Lord *Wilmot* in a posture to come away upon call) where they remained all night expecting ; but seeing no Long-boat, neither hearing any message from the master of the ship, at the break of day the Colonel returns to the Inne, and beseeches the King & the Lord *Wilmot* to haste from thence. His Majesty was intreated ; but the Lord *Wilmot* was desirous to stay behind a little, promising to follow the King to *Bridport*, where his Majesty intended to make a halt for him.

When the King was gone, the Lord *Wilmot* sent *Peters* into *Lime*, to demand of Captain *Elesden* the reason why *Limbry* broke his promise, and forfeited his word ? He seemed much surprised with this message, and said, He knew no reason, except it being Fair-day, the Seamen were drunk in taking their Fairwell ; and withall advised his

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Lordship to be gone, because his stay there could not be safe. But since that *Limbry* himself hath given this account under his own hand :—

That according to an Agreement made at *Charmouth*, September the 19. 1651. betwixt himself & one Captain *Norris*, (since known to be Colonel *Francis Wyndham*) he put forth his Ship beyond the *Cobs-mouth** into *Charmouth-rode*, where his servants on the 22 of the same monthe were all ready in her, waiting his coming ; That he going to his house about ten that night, for linen to carry with him, was unexpectedly looked into a chamber by his Wife, to whom he had a little before revealed his intended Voyage with some Passengers into *France*, for whose Transportation, at his return, he was to receive a considerable sum of money from Captain *Elesden*.

This woman (it seems) was frightened into a panick fear by that dreadful Proclamation (of the tenth of *September*) set out by the Men of *Westminster*, and published that day at *Lyme*. In this, a heavy Penalty was thundered out against all that should conceal the King, or any of his party, who were at *Worcester* Fight ; and a Reward of a Thousand pounds promised to any that should betray him. She, apprehending the Persons her husband engaged to carry over to be Royalists, resolved to secure him from danger, by making him a Prisoner in his own chamber. All the perswasions he used for his liberty, were in vain : For the more he intreated, the more her violent increased, breaking forth in to such clamors & lamentations, that he feared if he should any longer contend, both himself & the Gentlemen he promised to transport, would be cast away in this storm, without ever going to Sea.

Thus a Design in a business of the highest nature, carried on with industry & prudence, even to the very last, still promising full hope of a happy production, by one mans single whisper (the bane

* The projecting piers forming the small harbour at *Lyme*. There is a drawing of them in the British Museum executed in the reign of Henry VIII.

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of Action) proved abortive. For no doubt, had *Limby* kept his counsel, he had gained the honour of Conveying over his Majesty; of whose Noble Courage & Vertue, God was pleased to make yet farther trial, as the sequel will inform.

The King passing on upon *London-Road* from *Charmouth*, met many travellers, among whom was one of his Fathers servants, well known both to his Majesty & the Colonel; who were very well pleased that he was not guilty of so much Civility, as to give either of them the complement of a Salutation. As they drew near to *Bridport*, the Colonel riding a little before, and entering the town, perceived it full of Soldiers; whereupon stopping his horse till the King came up, he intreated his Majesty to keep on, and by no means to put himself into the mouth of them, who gaped greedily after his destruction. Nevertheless, the King having engaged to the Lord *Wilmot* to expect him there (without the least apprehension of danger) rode into the *George*, and alighting in the Court, was forced to stay there, and in the Stable, near half an hour, before the Colonel could procure a Chamber. All this while his bloody Enemies were his onely Companions, with whom he discoursed freely without fear, and learned from them their intended Voyage for *Jersey* & *Guernsey*, and their designs upon those Islands. Here may you see the Pursuers overtaken, and the bitterest of Enemies freely discoursing with Him, whose utter Ruine they accounted would compleat their Happiness. He that sate in Heaven certainly laughed them to scorn, and by the interposition of his mighty Arm eclipsed their glory, and by his admirable Wisdom reproved & confuted their malice against the King, & their blasphemies against Heaven.

No sooner had the King withdrawn himself from this dangerous Company into a Chamber (with much difficulty obtained) but *Mrs Coningsby* espied *Peters* riding into the *Inne*. He (being beckned up) acquainted his Majesty, that the Lord *Wilmot* humbly petitioned him to make haste out of the place, and to overtake him slowly passing

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on the road, and waiting his Majesties coming. Presently upon the dismissal of *Peters*, the King having taken some small repast, not far from the Town joyned in company again with the Lord *Wilmot*, & discoursing of the several Adventures of that hopeful, and (as it fell out) most perilous Journey, concluded that *London-Road* was very unsafe, and therefore resolved to follow the next Turning* which might probably lead towards *Yeavill* or *Sherborn*, neither of which is computed to be above two miles distant from *Trent*. Providence (the best of Guides) directed these Strangers (for so they were all to those parts) to a way, which after many hours travel brought them into a Village, in which was a small Inne for entertainment. This entred those masqued Travellers, to enquire where they were. And to this purpose calling for some Beer, the Host of the house (one Rice Jones) came forth, and informed them that the place was called *Broadwindsor*. The Colonel knew the Innkeeper & his wife to be very honest, loyal persons, and that for their fidelity to the King & his party, they had (according to their condition) undergone their share of troubles. The King understanding the affection of the people, resolves to lodge in the house that night, it being already somewhat dark, and his Majesty & Company sufficiently wearied with their former nights watching and that days travel. The Colonel (while the horses were put up) desired Mr *Jones* to show him the most private rooms; the reason he gave was, Because his Brother-in-law Colonel *Reymes* (whom the Lord *Wilmot* personated) had been a long time imprisoned, as well as himself; That they had lately obtained their Paroles, and to be seen together so far from their homes, might create new jealousies, and so consequently crush them with new troubles. The good Host upon this brought them up into the highest chambers, where Privateness recommended the meanness of the Accommodation, and the pleasantness of the Host (a merry

* Lee Lane, Bradpole, the scene of the "Miraculous Divergence" of September 23, 1651. See *ante*, p. 11, and *post*, p. 265.

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fellow) allayed & mitigated the weariness of the Guests. Now the face of things began to smile, which all the day & night preceding looked so loursing & ill-favoured. But this short Calm was on a sudden interrupted by a violent Storm. For in comes the Constable with almost Forty Soldiers to be billeted that very night in the Inne ; all the lower Receptacles were thronged up with this unexpected Company ; so that the King was in a manner besieged, there being no passage from above, but through those suspected Guards. Thus every place brought forth its troubles, and every period of time disclosed fresh dangers ! Shortly after the Soldiers had taken up their Quarters, a Woman in their company fell in labour in the Kitchin. The pangs she endured, made the Inhabitants of that place very ill at ease, fearing lest the whole Parish should become the reputed Father, and be enforced to keep the Child. To avoid this charge, the chiefest of the Parish post to the Inne, between whom & the Soldiers arose a very hot conflict concerning provision to be made for the mother & the infant. This dispute continued till such time as (according to orders) they were to march to the Sea-side. This quarrelsom Gossiping was a most seasonable diversion, exercising the minds of those troublesom Fellows, who otherwise were likely to have proved too too inquisitive after the Guests in the house ; the sad consequences of which, every loyal heart trembles to think on.

Surely we cannot, except we wilfully shut our own eyes, but clearly see, and with all reverence & thankfulness adore the Divine Goodness for his Majesties signal Deliverances in this Voyage. Especially if looking back upon *Charmouth*, we consider the dangers that threatened him, occasioned by the Lord *Wilmot's* short stay there, after the King's departure. For one *Hamnet* a Smith, being called to shoe his Lordships horse, said, He well knew by the fashion of the shoes, that they were never set in the West, but in the North. The Hostler (a bird of the same feather) hearing this, began to tell what

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company had been there, how they sate up, and kept their horses saddled all the night ; and from hence they conclude, That either the King, or some Great Persons had certainly been at the Inne. The Hostler (whose heart was soured against the King) runs presently to one *Westley* (of the same leaven) then Minister of *Charmouth*, to inform him of these Passages, and to ask counsel what was to be done. This *Westley* was at his Morning Exercise, and being something long-winded [*And by the way it may be observed, that long Prayers proceeding from a Traiterous heart, once did good, but by accident onely*] the Hostler, unwilling to use his reward at the Gentlemans taking horse, returns without doing his errand. As soon as my Lord was mounted & gone, *Hamnet* tells *Westley* of the discourse between himself & the Hostler. Away comes *Westley* upon full speed to the Inne, and (almost out of breath) asks the woman of the house, what Guests she had entertained that night ? She said, They were all strangers to her, she knew them not. I tell you then (said he) one of them was the King. Then hastily turning away from her, he & *Hamnet* ran to Mr *Butler* of *Commer* (then Justice of Peace) to have him dispatch abroad his Warrants to raise the Country for the apprehending of the King, and those persons the last night with him at *Charmouth*. But he spends his mouth in vain, a deaf ear is turned upon him, no Warrant would be issued forth. This check given to his zeal so vexed him, that it had like to have caused a suffocation, had not Captain *Massey* (as errant a Hotspur as himself) given it vent, by raising a Party and pursuing the King upon *London-Road*. But God preserved his Majesty by diverting him to *Broadwindsor*, whilst *Massey* and his hot-mettled company outran their Prey as far as *Dorchester*. And indeed, the report of the Kings being at *Charmouth*, was grown so common, that the Soldiers (lying in those parts) search'd the houses of several Gentlemen, who were accounted Royalists, thinking to surprize him. Amongst which *Pilesdon* (the house of Sir *Hugh Wyndham* Uncle to Colonel *Francis Wyndham*) was twice rifled. They took the old

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Baronet, his Lady, Daughters, and whole Family, and set a Guard upon them in the Hall, whilst they examine every corner, not sparing either Trunk or Box. Then taking a particular view of their Prisoners, they seize a lovely young Lady, saying, she was the King disguised in womens apparel. At length being convinced of their gross & rude mistake, they desisted from offering any further violence to the Family. And here it must be observed, that the same day the King went to *Charmouth*, Captain *Elesden* came to *Pilesden*, and enquired of Sir *Hugh* and his Lady for the King & Colonel, confidently affirming that they must needs be there.

His Majesty having with an evenness of spirit gotten through this rough passage safely anchored at *Broadwindsor* : Where at length enjoying some rest, he commands the Colonel to give his opinion what course was to be taken, as the face of affairs then looked. The Colonel (seeing Forces drawn every where upon that shore) thought it very hazardous to attempt anything more in *Dorsetshire* ; and therefore humbly besought his Majesty, that he would be pleased to retreat to *Trent* : He hoped his Majesty was already satisfied in the fidelity of his servants ; and that he doubted not, his Majesty might lie securely in that Creek, till it was fair weather, and a good season to put forth to Sea. He humbly advised, that *Peters* might conduct the Lord *Wilmot* to Mr. *Huit's* house at the *Kings-Arms* in *Sarum*, where he & many of his friends had been sheltered in the time of troubles. That *Peters* (being at *Sarum*) should by a private token bring his Lordship to Mr *John Coventry* (his Kinsman) a Person Noble, Wise & Loyal, with whom he had kept Intelligence in order to the Kings service, ever since his Majesty had set foot in *Scotland* ; that he was assured Mr *Coventry* would think himself highly honoured to correspond in this matchless employment, *The King's Preservation*. He desired the Lord *Wilmot* to be confident of lying concealed ; And likewise to treat with Mr *Coventry*, and by *Peters* to return his

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Majesty an account how he found that Gentleman affected towards this service.

This counsel being well relished & approved, 'twas resolved, That between *Sarum* & *Trent* (lying 30 miles distant & better) an Intercourse should be kept by trusty messengers, and a secret way of writing, to avoid danger in case of interception. All things being thus concluded, the King left his jovial host at *Broadwindsor*, and returned with the Colonel & *Mrs Coningsby* to *Trent*. The Lord *Wilmot* with *Peters* went that night to *Sherborn*, and the next morning was waited on by *Swan* (who attended his Lordship to the Colonels) and that day got into *Sarum* where he soon saluted Mr. *Coventry*, in all things fully answering his Lordship's expectation: And (the 25 of September) *Peters* was sent back with this joyful message from the Lord *Wilmot* to his Majesty, That he doubted not (by Mr. *Coventry*'s assistance & those recommended by him) to be able in some short time to effect his desires.

Whilst his Sacred Majesty enjoys his peace at *Trent*, and the Lord *Wilmot* (with those other Worthies) is busied at *Sarum* to procure its continuation, It cannot be impertinent to mention a Circumstance or two, which inserted in the midst of the web & texture of this Story would have looked unhandsom, but added as a fringe may prove ornamental.

Upon the *Sunday* morning after the King came to *Trent*, a Tailor of the Parish informed the Colonel, That the Zealots (which swarmed in that place) discoursed overnight, that Persons of Quality were hid in his house, and they intended to search & seise them; and therefore he desired the Colonel (if any such there were) to convey them thence, to avoid surprisal. The Colonel (rewarding the good man for his care & kindness towards himself & family) told him that his Kinsman (meaning the *L. Wilmot*) was not private, but publick in house, (for so his Lordship pleased to be) and that he believed he would show himself in the Church at the time of Prayers. When the

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honest fellow was gone, the Colonel acquaints the King what had passed between himself & the Tailor, and withall besought his Majesty to perswade the Lord *Wilmot* to accompany him to Church, thinking by this means not only to lessen the jealousy, but also to gain the good opinion of some of the Fanaticks, who would be apt to believe, that the Colonel was rather brought to Church by my Lord, than his Lordship by the Colonel, who seldom came to that Place, since Faction & Rebellion had justled out, and kept possession against Peace & Religion. He alledged moreover, that he sat in an Ile distinct from the body of the Congregation, so that the Parishioners could not take a full view of any of his company. These reasons joined with his Majesties command, prevailed with his Lordship ; and (though he thought it a bold adventure, yet) it not only allayed the fury, but also took out the very sting of those wasps ; insomuch that they who the last night talked of nothing but searching, began now to say that *Cromwell's* late success against the King, had made the Colonel a Convert.

All being now quiet about home, the Colonels Lady (under pretence of a visit) goes over to *Sherborn* to hear what news there was abroad of the King. And towards evening, at her return, a Troop of horse clapt privately into the town. This silent way of entering their Quarters, in so triumphant a time, gave a strong alarm to this careful Lady, whose thoughts were much troubled concerning her Royal Guest. A stop she made to hearken out what brought them thither, and whither they were bound : But not one grain of Intelligence could be procured by the most industrious enquiry. When she came home, she gave his Majesty an account of many stories, which like flying clouds were blown about by the breath of the people, striving to cover her trouble with the vail of cheerfulness. But this the King perceiving to be rather forced than free, as at other times, was earnest to know the cause of her discomposure. And to satisfie his Majesties importunity, she gave him a full relation of the

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Troop at *Sherborn* : At which his Majesty laughed most heartily, as if he had not been in the least concerned. Yet upon a serious debate of the matter, the Colonel & his Lady supplicated the King to take a view of his Privy chamber, into which he was perswaded to enter, but came presently forth again, much pleased, that upon the least approach of danger, he could thither retreat with an assurance of security. All that night the Colonel kept strict watch in his house, and was the more vigilant, because he understood from *Sherborn*, that the Troop intended not to quarter there, but only to refresh themselves & march. And accordingly (not so much as looking towards *Trent*) about two of the clock next morning they removed towards the Sea-coast. This fear being over, the King rested all the time of his stay at *Trent*, without so much as the apprehension of a disturbance.

The strangeness of which will be much increased by the addition of what a Captain who served under *Cromwell* at *Worcester*, reported to two divines of undoubted veracity, long before the King's blessed Restauration : That he was followed & troubled with Dreams for three nights together, That the King was hid at *Trent* near *Sherborn*, in a house nigh to which stood a Grove or patch of trees, and that thither he should go & find him. This suggestion thus reiterated, was a powerful spur to prick him forwards : But the hand which held the reins & kept him back, was irresistible.

Now the hands of his Majesties enemies were not only restrained from doing him evil, but the hands of his friends were strengthened to do him good. In order to which, Colonel *Edward Phelips* of *Montacute* in the County of *Somerset* came from *Sarum* to his Majesty (*Septemb.* 28.) with this intelligence, That his brother Colonel *Robert Phelips* was employed to *Southampton* to procure a Vessel, of which transaction his Majesty should receive a speedy account.

In the meantime, Captain *Thomas Littleton* (a Neighbour of Colonel *Wyndham*) was dispatch'd up into *Hampshire*, where by the aid of *Mr Standish* he dealt with the Master of a Ship, who undertook

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to carry off the Lord *Wilmot* & his company, upon the condition his Lordship would follow his direction. But the hope of Colonel *Phelips* his good success at *Hampton* dash'd this enterprise, and the Captain was remanded to *Trent*, and to make no progress till further order.

Upon the first of *October*, Mr *John Sellick* (Chaplain to Mr *Coventry*) brought a letter to his Majesty. In answer to which the King wrote back, That he desired all diligence might be used in providing a Vessel; and if it should prove difficult at *Hampton*, trial should be made farther: That they should be ascertained of a Ship before they sent to remove him, that so he might run no more hazards then what of necessity he must meet with in his passage from *Trent* to the place of his Transportation.

October the fifth, Colonel *Phelips* came from the Lord *Wilmot* & Mr *Coventry* with this assurance, That all things were ready; And that he had informed himself with the most private ways, that so he might with greater probability of safety guide his Majesty to the Sea-side. As soon as the King heard this message, He resolved upon his Journey. Colonel *Wyndham* earnestly petitions his Majesty, that he might wait on him to the shore: But his Majesty gave no grant, saying, It was no way necessary, and might prove very inconvenient. Upon the renewing his request, the King commanded the contrary, but sweetened his denial with this promise, That if he were put to any distress, he would retreat to *Trent*.

About ten next morning (*October* the sixth) his Majesty took leave of the old Lady *Wyndham*, the Colonels Lady & Family, not omitting the meanest of them that served him. But to the good old Lady he vouchsafed more than an ordinary respect, who accounted it her highest honour, that she had three Sons & one Grandchild slain in the defence of the Father, and that she her self in her old age had been instrumental in the protection of the Son, Both Kings of England.

Thus his Sacred Majesty, taking Mrs *Juliana Coningsby* behind

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him, attended by Colonel *Robert Phelps*, and *Peters*, bade farewell to *Trent*, the Ark in which God shutt him up, when the Floods of Rebellion had covered the face of his Dominions. Here he rested Nineteen days, to give his faithful Servants time to work his deliverance: And the Almighty crowned their endeavours with success, that his Majesty might live to appear as Glorious in his Actions, as Couragious in his Sufferings.

FINIS

VIII

The Letter of William Ellesdon of
Charmouth to the Earl of Clarendon
concerning the adventures of Charles II
in West Dorset on September 22, 23
and 24, 1651

(Transcribed from the Original Letter preserved in the Bodleian Library)

To the Right Ho^{ble} Edward Earle Clarendon, Lord
Chancelo^r of England &c

Right Honourable

Humbly considering that a compleat and perfect narration of the many & great dangers & the late many & signall deliverances wch his Sacredd Majesty met with all after that fatall rout at Worcester until his Majesties happy arrival at that porte of safety at wch Allmightty God, his gracious & mercifull Preserver had designed for him, cannot but be very acceptable to all good Christians & Loyall hearts, wch being a work so much conducing to the Glory of God and the hono^{ble} renowne of y^e most most dread Sovereaigne, and withall observing too great defectiveness in those narratives upon this subject that I have hitherto seen as to some of those eminent deliverances which God was pleased mercifully to vouchsafe his Majesty in the west : to the intent that if God shall stirre up the heart of any learned & able Historian to give a true & full account of those remarkable passages of Providence to the World, I may contribute my Mite to such a noble & desirable undertaking ; I have now (upon presumption of your Lordships favourable acceptance) taken upon me the boldnesse to present unto your Lordship a brief account of those memorable passages in this kind w^{ch} my self (having been an Agent in them) had the hono^r & happinesse to be acquainted wth. The w^{ch} yo^r Lordship may be pleased to take as followeth.

After that his Mat^y disappointed of his hopes of embarking at Bristoll (of w^{ch} yo^r Lordship may inform yo^r self in that Account w^{ch} a person of Quality hath given the world in his book styld the History of His Sacred Mat^y Charles II^d printed at London Anno 1660 pag 125)

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his Majesty desired to be brought some miles westward to the house of a worthy gent whom hee knew to be a trusty friend & accordingly his Ma^{ty} being conveyed to the house of Colonell Francis Wyndham of Trent in Som^{et}, advice was had about preparation of a passage for his Ma^{ty} in some Western Port. In prosecution of w^{ch} myself being look't upon as a person that might be confided in, and in a capacity of giving his Ma^{ty} in order to his transportation (having not long before been instrumentall in getting safe passage for Sir John [now Lord] Berkly) upon or about the 18th September 1651 the aforesaid honourable & truly Loyall gent Coll: Francis Wyndhame came to me at my house in Lyme (where I then lived, looking upon it as some protection to me in those times to live in that towne) when after some other discourse had, and an engagem^{nt} to secrecie passed betwixt us, he told me that the King had sent him to me Commanding me to procure him a vessell in order to his transportation into some part of France.

Being overjoyed to heare that my Sovereign was soe neare me (the Coll had informed me he was) & even ravisht with content at an opportunity of expressing the Loyalty of my heart to his Most Excellent Ma^{ty}) so unexpectedly presented itself, I answered that I would with the utmost hazard of my person and wtsoever else was deare unto me (as knowing my self by all obligations, both sacred & civill thereunto obliged) strenuously endeavo^r the execution of Ma^{ties} both just & reasonable commands in this particular: being verily persuaded that either God would preserve me from, or else support me in and under any sufferings for so good a cause. Accordingly I immediatly sent one to the Custom-house to make enquiry who had entered his vessell as bound for France. Newes was brought me that one S. L. of Charmouth had lately entered his Barque, and intended a speedy voyage to S^t Mallo.

Not only myself but also Coll: Wyndham was much affected with these tidings, having first told him that I had an interest in the Master

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(hee being my Tenant) and that hee ever had the repute of being well affected to his Ma^{ty}. Upon these encouragemts wee (resolving to loose noe time) road to Charmouth by the Sea-syde to conferre with the Master w^{ch} way I the rather make choice of that in y^e passage thither I might show the Coll: what place I judged most convenient for His Majesty to take boat in (in case wee could work the master to a compl^y-ance) in order to his imbarquing, and indeed a more commodious place for such a designe could hardly be found, it lying upon the shoare a Quarter of a mile from any house, and from any horse or foot path. The Coll: being fully satisfyed of the conveniency of the place, wee rode into the towne and immeiatly sent for the Master who being very happily at home presently repaired to us at the Inne.

Friendly saluations and some endearing complem^{ts} being premised, (and a name that was not his owne being by me in the hearing of the master given to the Coll: in way of disguise) I told him that the end of our sending for him was to procure passage for a friend of mine and this gentlemans who had had a finger in the pye at Worcester. The man being startled at this proposition (as apprehending more than ordinary danger in such an undertaking) we were necessitated to use many argum^{ts} for the removall of his feares, w^{ch} were so happily managed that in a little time wee saw the effect of them by his chearfull undertaking the businesse. Wherefore an ample reward being engaged for our one part he promised speedily to prepare his vessell, and to hale her out of the cobb the munday following, and about midnight send his boat to the place appointed for the taking in of the passenger, and then immediatly to put off to sea (in case the winds were favourable). Thus far we were agreed, and in all our discourse there was noe enquiry made by the master, nor any least intimation given by us who this passenger might be, whose quality we purposed concealed lest the hopes of gaining £1000 (promised reward of the highest Treason) might prove a temptation too strong for the master to grapple with.

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Having thus farre successfully proceeded in our businesse we returned to Lyme. The next day (being Friday) Coll: Wyndham resolved on returning to his house at Trent with these hopefull tidings to his Ma^{ty}. I bore him company part of his journey, and chose the Land road from Lyme to Charmouth, that upon the top of a hill situate in our way betwixt these two townes, upon a second view he might be more perfectly acquainted with the way that leads from Charmouth to the place appointed for his Ma^{ties} taking boat, it being judged more convenient upon severall accounts that the Coll: & not myself should be his Ma^{ties} conductor thither. Here calling to mind that on Monday (the day appointed for his Ma^{ties} imbarquing) a Fayre was to be held at Lyme, and withall doubting lest upon that account (through the nearnesse of the place) our Inne in Charmouth might be filled with other guests, wee sent downe one Harry Peters then a servant of y^e Colls (who yet was not with us there the day before) with Instructions by the earnest of five shillings to secure the 2 best roomes in the Inne ag^t his Ma^{ties} cominge, who told the hostesse (to take off all suspicion) this fayre tale: that there was a young man to come thither next Munday that had stolen a gentlewoman to marry her and (fearing lest they should be followed & hindered) that he desired to have the house & stables at liberty to depart at whatsoever houre of the night he should think fittest.

This menage being performed, roomes made sure of and the serv^t returned, I then shewed Coll: a country house of my father's distant both from Lyme & Charmouth about a mile & half, w^{ch} (for the privacy of it) we determined should be the place whither his Ma^{ty} with the Lord Wilmott, who then waited on him, should repair on Munday next, that I might then & there give his Ma^{ty} a further account of what had passed in the interim betwixt myself & the master.

Now being abundantly satisfyed and exhilerated in the review of the happy progresse we had thus far made, with most affectionate embraces the noble Coll: and myself parted, He returning to his house to wait upon his Ma^{ty} & myself towards mine vigorously to prosecute

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what yet remained on my part to be done with the master in order to the compleating of this work thus happily begun. In the performance of w^{ch} that I might approve myself faythfull, I the same day & the day following, and also on the Munday after, having diligently sought out the master, moved & pressed him soe earnestly to the punctuall performance of his passed promise, that he seemed discontented at my Importunity as betraying in me a suspicion of his fidelity. A little to allay his passion I told him I was assured that the Gent my friend would be at Charmouth on Munday, and that if he were not then ready to transport him, it might prove an undoing both to my friend & me. Whereuppon to vindicate himself he told me that he had taken in his ballast, that he had victualled himself & haled out his vessell to the Cobbs mouth for feare of being beneaped, because the tides at that time were at the lowest, being well satisfyed with this answer I left him (after that I had given him instructions how to prevent any jealousies that might arise in the breasts of the mariners concerning the persons to be transported) and immediatly went to the aforsaid Country house of my Fathers, whither when I was come (and perceived that I was the first comer) that I might also erect a blind for the Tenant's eyes I demanded of him whether the London Carier had passed that day or not, telling withall that I expected 2 or 3 friends, who promised to meete me there about y^e time of the Carrier passing that way.

His answer to me was but little to the purpose. But in half an houre after my arrivall thither came the King with Mrs Julian Conisby, a kinswoman of the Colonells who rode behind him, the Lord Wilmot, Coll Wyndham & his man Peters attending on him. After theyr coming in I took the first opportunity to acquaint his Ma^{ty} of what had passed betwixt myself & the master after Coll. Wyndhams departure from me. The result of all w^{ch} was this, that the master had assured me that all things were in a readinesse for the intended voyage, and that, (according to y^e instructions given him) he had possessed the Seamen with a belief that one of the passengers viz Lord Wilmott was

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a merchant by name Mr Payne & the other, meaning the King, was his serv^t. That the reason of Mr Payne's taking ship at Charmouth at such an unseasonable hour, and not at Lyme, was because that being a Town-Corporate he feared an Arrest, his Factor at S^t Mallo having broken him in the estate by his unfaithfulnesse to him, and that therefore he was necessitated with this his ser^{vt} speedily & privately to transport himself to S^t Mallo afor^{sd} in order to the recovery of such goods of his as by his sayd Factor were detained from him, the sending of w^{ch} goods at severall times this ser^{vt} of his could sufficiently testify & prove. This I the rather acquainted his Ma^{ty} & the Lord Wilmot with, that after theyr being shipped (the more to confirme the mariners) they might drop some discourses to this effect.

His Ma^{ty} who showed his approbation of what I had done, was graciously pleased as a testimony of his Royall favor (w^{ch} I have ever esteemed as a Jewell of greatest worth) to bestow upon me a piece of gold, telling me that at present he had nothing to bestow upon me but that small piece, but that if ever it should please God to restore him to his Kingdom, He would readily grant me whatsoever favor I might in reason petition him for.

Upon this his Ma^{ty}, attended as is before expressed, rode towards Charmouth, commanding me to hasten to Lyme & there to continue my care that all things might be performed according to his Ma^{ties} expectations & the masters promise. Accordingly I made hast home, found out the master, acquainted him that my friend was now at Charmouth, and that I newly came from him. He replied that he was glad of it, that he would presently repaire to Charmouth to speak with him and to tell him when he would come ashore for him, which accordingly he did.

And thus farre all things succeeded according to our best wishes, both the wind & tyde seeming to be at strife which of them should most comply with our desyres. But after all these fayre hopes and the great likelihood we had all conceived of his Ma^{ties} happy trans-

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portation, it pleased God Almighty for the cleare manifestation of his Infinitely glorious wisdome & powerfull goodness in his Mat^{ties} preservation, suddenly to blast this designe, and to caste his Mat^y upon a new strait & dangers.

For the master either through weaknesse of judgmt or else in design to prevent a discovery had utterly forborne to acquaint his wife with his intention to goe to sea until it was almost time for him to goe aboard. Whereupon he noe sooner called for his chest, but his wife asked him why he would goe to sea having no goods aboard. The master now thought himself necessitated to tell her that his landlord Mr Ellesdon had provided him a freight w^{ch} would be much more worth to him, than if his ship were full laden with goods, he being to transport a Gent a friend of his. His wife (having been at Lyme Faier that day, and having heard the proclamation read wherein £1000 was promised as a Reward for the discovery of the Kinge, and in w^{ch} the danger of these also was represented that should conceale his Mat^y, or any of those who were engaged with him at Worcester, and apprehending that this Gent might be one of that party) forwith locked the doors upon him, and by the help of her two daughters kept him in by force, telling him that shee & her Children would not be undone for even a landlord of them all, and threatened him that if he did but offer to stirre out of doors, shee would instantly go to Lyme & give Information both ag^t him & his Landlord to Captain Macey, who had then the command of a foot company there. Here the master showed his wisdome, not a little, by his peaceable behavior, for had he striven in the leaste it is more than probable that his Mat^y & his Attend^{ts} had been suddenly seised upon in the Inne.

But I must needs awhile leave the master a prisoner in his owne house, his wife & daughters being now become his keepers, whilst I render an account of the actings of Coll: Wyndham who with his man Peters, at the time appointed, went to the place agreed upon to

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expect the landing of the boat; but no boat coming after severall houres waiting (because he saw the tide was spent) he resolves upon returning to the Inne. In his way thither he discovers a man coming, dogg'd at a small distance by two or three women. This indeed was the Master of the Vessell, who by this tyme had obtained liberty (yet still under the eyes of his over jealous Keepers) to walk towards the Sea-side with an intention to make known to those that waited for him the sad tidings of this unexpected disappointment together with its causes. The Collonel (whom they met) though he conceived it might be the master, yet being not certain of it and seeing the women at his heels, passed him by, without enquiring into the reason of the non performance of his promise.

Your Lordship may easily guesse that this frustration of hopes was matter of trouble as well as admiration to his Ma^{ty}. The issue of it was that Peters very early the Tuesday-morning was sent unto me to know the reason of it. He had no sooner delivered his message, but Astonishmt seised on me, and the foresight of those sad consequences w^{ch} I feared might be the fruits of this disaster wrought in me such disquietmt of mind that (for the time) I think I scarcely sustained a like upon any occasion in all my life before, my confidence of his Ma^{ties} safe departure adding not a little to the weight of that load of sorrow, which afterwards lay so heavy upon me. The cause I plainly told him I was wholly ignorant of (except this were it, that in regard it was fayer day the master might not be able effectually to command his mariners out of the Ale-houses to their work), but promised speedily to search into it, and upon after enquiry I found it to be what I have before related.

But here (because I apprehended y^t delaies might prove inauspicious) I presently dismissed the messenger with this my humble advice to his Ma^{ty} that his longer stay in Charmouth might indanger his discovery; which had certainly proved the issue of it had not God King of Kings graciously & even miraculously prevented it. The

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hostesse of the house little thinking what manner of guests the chambers before spoken of had been secured for, had at that time admitted to be her Hostler one of Captain Maceys souldiers a notorious Knave, who observing & taking notice that the Coll: & his man went out so late at night towards the Sea-syde, and that the rest of the company during their absence were more private then travellers are wont to be, and perhaps inspired & prompted by the devill strongly suspected one of these guests to be the King under the disguise of a womans habit, & ceased not once & againe to discover his jealousies unto his mistresse.

But shee (though from the fellow's words & the consederation of some circumstances which that night & some dayes before had occurred, she had some thoughts that it might be so) yet detesting as much to lodge Treason in her heart, as she would have been proud of entertaining the King in her house, very passionately rebuked her Hostler for these insolencies, hoping by that means to put a stop to his (as she judged) treasonable projects.

Yet this her honest design wrought not the intended effect upon this the heart of this her treacherous servant. For the same morning whilst Peters was with me at Lyme he went to speak with the then parson of Charmouth, intendinge to communicate his suspicions to him, found no opportunity to speak with him, he being at that time engaged in prayer with his family.

Another remarkable passage we must of necessity here insist which was this: My Lord Wilmott's horse wanting a shooe, in Peter's, his absence, the Hostler led him to one Hammets a smyth then living in Charmouth, who viewing the remaining shooes, sayd, this horse hath but three shooes on and they were set in 3 severall Counties & one of them in Worcestershire. Which speech of his fully confirmed the Hostler in his former opinion.

By this tyme Harry Peters being returned from Lyme, my Lord Willmot's horse shod, on the advertisemt that was sent him, his

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Maj^{ty} immediately departed towards Bridport a Towne eastwarde of Bridport and about five miles distant from it.

The Hostler now that the Birds had taken theyre flight began to spread his net. For going a 2nd time to the parson he fully discovered his thoughts to him, and withall told him wt the smyth had said concerning my Lord Willmots horse. The parson hereupon hastens to y^e Inne, and salutes the hostesse in this manner Why! how now Margaret you are a maid of honor now. What meane you by that M^r Parson quoth she. Sayde hee Why Charles Stuart lay the last night at yor house & kirst you at his departure, so that now you cant but be a maid of honor. The woman began then to be very angry, and told him he was a scurvy-condition'd man to go about to bring her & her house into trouble. But said she if I thought it was the King (as you say it was) I would think the better of my lips all dayes of my life. And so M^r Parson get you out of my house, or else I'll get those shall kick you out. I have represented this discourse in the Interlocutors own words, by this means to make it the more pleasant to yor Lordship.

But to returne to the maine intendmt of this my Narrative, I shall (before we come in our thoughts to attend his Ma^{ty} in his jorney eastwards) humbly begge of yor Lord^{sh} this favor that yor Lordship would here be pleased seriously to admire with myself the goodnesse of Allmighty God in infatuating this Hostler & the rest of his Ma^{ties} enemies in these parts.

First of all parson (being not a little nettled at the rude & sharpe language the Hostess gave him) taking Hammet the smyth along with him he speedily applyed himself to the next Justice of the peace, to inform him of the forementioned jealousies, together with the reasons of them and earnestly pressed him to raise the County by his warrants in order to his Ma^{ties} apprehension. But he (as God was pleased to order it) thinking it very unlikely that the King should be in these parts, notwithstanding all the parsonS bawling & the strong prob-

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abilities upon wch theyre Conjectures seemed to be groundd, utterly rejected his counsaile, fearing lest he should make himself ridiculous to all the Countrey by such an undertaking.

As to the Hostler his imprudent managing of his mischievous intention discovered itself 2 ways. first in his having recourse to the parson, whereas, with greater likelihood of successe he might have taken the advise & assistance of his fellow-souldiers, three whereof, being very desperate enemies to his Ma^{ty} were at that time Inhabitants of Charmouth & his nearest neighbours. In the next place his egredgious folly was further manifested in his delaying to acquaint his Captain at Lyme with his suspicions abovenamed untill 12 of the clock that day. For had it not been for this neglect of his, his Ma^{ties} escape would have been (in reason's eye) impossible, his Captain Macey having no sooner received the report of these surmizes, and Information, on wt horses & in wt equipage, wch way the persons suspected made theyr departure from Charmouth; but, having (in all liklyhood) the promised Reward of such mischievous diligence in his eye, he instantly resolves to leave no means unattempted, that with least shadowe of probability might conduce to his Ma^{ties} Attachmt.

In pursuance of which Resolves he presently mounts & Setting spurrs to his horse in a full career he rides towards Bridport, where, at his arrivell after little inquiry made he was given to understand that some persons, with whom the descriptions he had received most exactly suited had dined at ye George that day, but not long before his cominge were departed towards Dorchester. This, therefore, was the next place to which he posted (the wings of covetousness & Ambition nimble transporting his mind then it was possible his horse could convey his body) which he no sooner entered, but (as if he had been to execute some warrant for the apprehending of the most notorious felon in the Kingdome) with the utmost hast & diligence imaginable, he searched all the Inns & Ale-houses in the town. But

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God (who had given him no commission to violate Majesty) was graciously pleased to make this furious hunter to overrunne the Game he hunted for. Wherefore dismissing him from creating any further trouble to yor Lordship (whose principles, I doubt, rather led him to the heights of discontent at his supposed losse, then to a Christian observance of that Divine hand of providence wch was no eminently seen in the preservation Royall Personage wch he intended to make a prey of) let us now again turne to his Majesty.

Who in his passage from Charmouth meeting with no interruption in his jorney, soon reached Bridport. Turning in at the George he (to the astonishment doubtlesse both of himself & his Attendants) found himself surrounded by his enemies ; There being at that tyme in the said Towne divirs foot-companies drawen together, who now designed for an expedition against Jerzy. But being as yet unsuspected (lest he might too late bewaile the sad effects of delay), after a short repast (too short indeed at any time but this for so great & Heroicall a Prince) his Mat^y left this Towne going on the way that leads towards Dorchester. In wch he had not rid past half a mile, ere, by the finger of Divine Providence he was directed into a narrow lane, on the left hand of Dorchester Road : By wch meanes (though they knew not whither they went) they were that evening safely conducted to Broad-windsor a country parish some six miles north of Bridport.*

They very fortunately lighted upon an Inne, where both the innholder & his wife were well known to Coll : Wyndham, they having formerly been servants to some of his Allies. The Coll : being confident he had an interest in them, upon the account of his former knowledge of them, and the relation they sometimes had to some of his kindred, persons of no mean quality, requested that hee & his company might that night be lodged in the most convenient rooms for

* This is the clearest and most precise of all the indications of Lee Lane as the scene of the "Miraculous Divergence" of Tuesday, September 23, 1651.

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privacy theyr house would afford, Telling them that himself & his Brother Colonel Bullen Reymes (meaning my Lord Willmot who very much resembled him) had transgrest theyr limits. The Royalists at that time being confined with 5 miles distance from their homes. This they readily condescended to, and thereupon led them to the uppermost chambers in their house.

Yet here the face of danger was againe discovered to them, for they had not been housed much above half an houre & before a Company of Troopers (to the number of 40) came thither, with an intention to quarter in this & other houses adjacent. Which accident might in all likelihood have proved fatall to his Ma^y (the Souldiers everywhere about that time being proudly inquisitive into the names, qualities, affairs and businesses of strangers) had not God in his infinite mercy incapacitated them for such like actings here, by cutting out work of another nature for them. For having a woman in theyr company, who not long after theyr coming thither fell in travaile, and was delivered of a child : the Officers & other inhabitants of the said parish (having notice thereof) contested so long with them, about freeing their parish from the Burthen of its maintenance, till sleep & drouzynesne had rendered theyr heads unfit for anything but theyr pillowes. Upon which whilst they soundly slept, his Ma^y together with his Attendants arising some houers before day, and taking the opportunity of that time of silence retired themselves undiscovered unto Trent.

Where after his Ma^y had concealed himself about a weeke he departed thence to one Mistress Hyde's near Salisbury. What afterwards passed I must needs leave to others that had the honor to know it, being myself unable to spinne the thread of this History any longer.

Thus have I (Right Honourable) without the least violation of Truth's Chastity made a brief Collection of those never to be forgotten miracles Providence wrought by the hands of Omnipotency for the

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Conservation of his most Sacred Mat^y in the midst of the many Perills he was exposed to in the West of Dorset, which came within my Cognizance, which I humbly lay (such as it is) at yor Lordships feet, being hereunto prompted upon the following considerations. First that I might present yor Honor with some new matter for your meditations, having frequently observed yor Lordship to be much delighted both in moving & also in hearing discourses upon this subjects. Secondly that yor Lordship by recounting in the hearing of others these Dei Magnalia may quicken & excite them to a serious minding & due improvement of the Infinite wisdom, power & goodness of the Most Highe God (the great preserver even of Kings) manifested in wt hath been the subject matter of the precedent Narrative. Lastly, that I might leave in yor Honors hands some monument of my reall gratitude for the many Favors yor Lordship hath been pleased to conferre on me. But it is time for me to remember what the Poet said to his Augustus

In publica commoda peccem,
Si longo sermone mover tua tempora

Lest, therefore, I shold offend through my unseasonable prolixity, having first with all submission craved yor Lordships Pardon for this my great Presumption in tendering to yor Lordship whom the world justly esteems so absolute a Master of Speech, such a rude & unpolisht Story, I shall only begg the honour to subscribe myself,

My Lord

Your Lordships

Most humbly devoted servant

Will : Ellesdon *

* For further particulars concerning William Ellesdon see Appendix VIII, pp. 295-6.

IX

Captain Gregory Alford's Narrative
of the Adventures of Charles II
in West Dorset,* September, 1651

(Transcribed from the MS. in the Bodleian Library)

* See Historical Introduction, *ante*, pp. 42-3, and *post*, pp. 293-6

CAPT. ALFORD'S NARRATIVE.*

The R^t Hono^{ble}, the L^d Keeper of the great Seal of England, having (fol. 1)
desir'd me to give him an Acc^t of what I knew of his Ma^{tie}'s
most miraculous Escape, and the great danger he passed through
after he came from Worcester, do here do it, as followeth.

HIS Ma^{tie} came to that Loial Gentleman's House S^r Francis Windham at Trent in the County of Somerset within 3 Miles of Shirborn : And being there his Ma^{tie} well knowing the trust he might repose in Coll. Giles Strangwaies, sent S^r Francis Windham to consult wth him, as to his preservacion, & Escape ; and to desire him to send him what Money he could. The said Coll's Father being then living, he had no great Command of money ; and for Reasons then best known to himself, would not communicate such a Secret to his Father ; but readily fetch'd 100^{li}. in Gold (protesting, it was all he had) & deliver'd it to S^r Francis Windham. They then consulted of the safest way for his Ma^{tie}'s Imbarkacion ; & thought, that about Lime there might be some convenient place, if they could find a fitt man, that might be trusted. Then the Coll. advis'd, that one Capt. Alford, whom his Ma^{tie} well knew, might be a fitt Person to be entrusted ; or if he were not to be found, then he knew of no other, but one M^r W^m Ellesdon, that liv'd in Lime. So one Peters, a Serv^t to S^r Francis Windham, was sent to find out Capt. Alford ; who was then in Portugal, forced to be abroad by reason of his Loialty. But Ellesdon was at home, being newly married to a very rich, but rigid Presbyterian.

Therefore S^r Francis Windham went, and conferred wth Ellesdon,

* [MS. Tanner 54.]

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for the Transporting (as he said) beyond the Sea of 2. Gent. and desir'd him to freight some Bark for that purpose. Mr. Ellesdon address'd himself to one Stephen Limbry, who was Master of a small Vessell of about 30 Tunns ;* to whom he declar'd, that there were 2 Gent., that desir'd passage into any part of France ; the one whereof having married a great Fortune was troubled by her Father, & Friends ; and so they would go into France for some time. They treated on the Conditions ; w^{ch} were, that whereas Limbry was then bound for St. Malo's, he should put out those Goods, w^{ch} he had on Board, and should Ballast his Ship at M^r Ellesdon's Cost : who promis'd the said M^r to give him 25^{li}. in hand, and an Obligation to pay him 25^{li}. more, when he should bring him a Note, or Letter that he had safely landed them in any part of France.

This Agreem^t being made, the M^r fitted out his Ship ; of w^{ch} Notice was given to S^r Francis Windham : who wth the King came to a small House belonging to M^r Ellesdon's Brother, who was a Violent Oliverian, about 2 miles from Lime, where he gave an Acc^t of what was done as to the freighting the Ship. So Ellesdon went for Lime, & told the M^r† that the Gentlemen were come ; and that they would be at Charmouth at 5 of the clock that day ; & that he should not fail to be there at that time to meet him, & he would there pay him the 25^{li}, and give him his Security for his other 25^{li}. But the Master demanding his charges in Ballasting his Ship, w^{ch} was but 9^s. Ellesdon refused to pay it, for w^{ch} the M^r was discontented. Yet his Dwelling being at Charmouth, he fail'd not to be there, & came several times to the House, where the Gentlemen were (wth the Lady M^{rs} Coningsby, who is now M^r Hixt's wife,) and demanded of the people of the House, if M^r Ellesdon were come. The King spake wth the M^r, who assur'd him his Ship was ready ; but still he lingred, to see when M^r Ellesdon would come to fullfill his Agreem^t: and it being very late at night, and the M^r finding, that M^r Ellesdon came not, nor had ‡ he

* (f. 1^b)

† Limbry, master of the vessel.

‡ (f. 2)

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paid, nor ever did, nor any other for him one penny of y^e money ; the Mr retir'd to his own House, after he had been there 3 times, and never came again to the King.*

So his Ma^{tie} finding himself to be deluded, was now to consult his farther preservacion. Command was given, that their Horses should be made ready : but it was found, that the King's Horse, w^{ch} carried double had a Shoo loose. So a Smith was sent for ; who came, & looking over the Shoes of all the Horses, said he knew, that all those Horses had been shodd about Worcester. Yet he fasten'd the Shoos, & presently went to consult wth one Westley, the Parson of Charmouth, a rigid, foolish Presbyterian ; who was then in a long-winded Praier, & before he had done the King was gone towards Bridport : Intelligence being carried into Lime (w^{ch} is a Mile, & half from Charmouth) but by what means it's not known. Hereupon 10, or 12 Troopers were dispatch'd away to pursue them.

The King stopp'd at the red-Lion-Inn† in Bridport. My Lord Wilmot, & S^r Francis Windham went up into a Room, wth the Lady, as Masters : The Groom (who was the King) they had left to see the Horses well rub'd. They commanded a Shoulder of Mutton to be made ready. The Ostler took great notice of the pretended Groom ; and told him he was formerly a Souldier for the King in Exōn, & cursed the Parlam^t Souldiers, that were then in the House ; still urging on the King, that he had s^een him in Exōn : Insomuch that the King was forc'd to call to mind, where he lodged in Exōn, & told him, that he had liv'd in Exōn wth one Mr George Potter, & had been his Groom. The Ostler replied, that he knew well Mr. Potter, & Capt. Alford, that married Mr Potters Daughter. So on this Acquaintance the Canns were called for, & they drank lovingly together. In a short time, the Mutton being ready, the King was call'd up ; who made hast

* This statement is in direct contradiction to that of Ellesdon and others.

† According to all other authorities the inn was the "George."

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to eat, (the Door being Shutt) and so went again to fitt the Horses, whilst they did eat.

* They took Care, the House being full of Souldiers, to be serv'd by an old Woman, to whom they gave the rest of y^e Mutton : who took out the pan of the closestool to hide it under. They made hast to take horse, & ride away on London-Road a little way ; but at the first turning on the left hand† they left that Road, & went by-waies to Broadwindsor, w^{ch} was clear back again.

In the Evening they came to the George Inn there, w^{ch} was well known to S^r Francis Windham. But it hapned, that the House was full of Souldiers ; So that there was but a little top-Chamber, that could be had for y^e King, and his Company, & but one Bed. It fell out that night, that a woman in the House fell in Travail ; So that the Troopers were forc'd to go to other Houses. So his Mat^{ie} took Horse in the Morning, wth the Gentlewoman behind him, & arriv'd safe at S^r Francis Windham's at Trent.

His Mat^{ie} had not been gone out at Bridport a quarter of an hour, before the 12 Troopers from Lime were come to pursue those Gentlemen, that had lain at Charmouth. They made inquiry at the Inn ; where they were inform'd, that the said Gentlemen were gone down the Town on London-Road. So they made great Speed after them, & never stop'd till they came to Dorchester ; not thinking, they had made such a Turning-back.

M^r Ellesdon finding, that the King was gone, & that y^e Lime-Troopers were return'd took horse himself, & being half a Mile from the Town of Lime, mett wth one M^r Tho. Taylor, whom he desir'd to go wth him ; telling him, that there was 1000^{li} to be gott for whoever should take the King, & he knew where he was : But the said M^r Taylor refus'd to go wth him, saying, he would not do it, if it were to gain the world. So M^r Ellesdon went forwards, & came to S^r Hugh Windham's House at Pilsdon, 5 Miles from Lime.

* (f. 2^b)

† Lee Lane.

Captain Alford's Narrative

& 2 from Broadwindsor, thinking the King had been *there. He went in boldly, & ask'd Sr Hugh Windham for y^e King. Sr Hugh replied to him, that he was a base Fellow, to come to his House to ask for the King, & Commanded him out of his House.

The said Ellesdon was gone but a little time, before y^e Lime-Troopers, w^{ch} had pursued the King before from Bridport, were come into the House of Sr Hugh Windham, & made diligent Search; they did not spare the young Ladies, as Sr Francis Windham hath said: and the Gent. that since married M^{rs} Coningsby, both living, hath affirm'd that he hath often heard his wife say, what is above inserted of what past at Sr Hugh Windham's: for she was told it after the King's Escape by Sr Hugh, & the Ladies, that were soused by the Troopers.

Limbury, the Master, hath depos'd before a M^r in Chancery (since his Matie's happy Return) in the presence of several persons now living, that directly, nor indirectly he never received one penny of Money of M^r Ellesdon, nor of any other on y^e aforesaid Contract: but that he had carried away the Gentlemen (so call'd) had he had the money agreed for, w^{ch} he was to have receiv'd at Charmouth; & that whatever hath been sett forth to the contrary was notoriously false, and laid the blame wholly upon M^r Ellesdon, for not comming to Charmouth to perform y^e Agreem^t made wth him.†

* (f. 3)

† For further particulars concerning Gregory Alford, Mayor of Lyme in 1663 and 1685, see Appendix VIII, pp. 293-6.

X

Mr. Robert Phelipps's
Narrative of the Occurrences
between September 25 and
October 15, 1651

(From the original MS. in the Bodleian Library)

MR ROBERT PHELIPPS'S* ACCOUNT OF KING CHARLE'S LEAVING TRENT FOR BRIGHTHELMSTONE†

On Thursday y^e 25th of Sept: 1651.

(fol. 3)

Y^e then Lord Wilmot afterward Earle of Rochester was sent by his Majestie from Trent in Sommersetshire y^e house of Coll. Francis Wyndham to Salisbury to M^r John Couentry and Coll. Robert Phelipps vpon notice giuen by M^r Edward Hyde brother in law to Coll: Fra: Windham that he had y^e day before senn his father Phelipps (for soe he vsually called him) at Salisbury returned to his family and was permitted by y^e Committee to remaine soe, y^e vnfortunat bussiness of Worcester hauing quieted their feares and ielosies. My Lord first came in y^e euening to M^r Couentry who sent presently for Coll. Phelipps in y^e interim my Lord had discoursed his errand with M^r Couentry. When y^e Coll: [*sic* MS.] came and my Lord and he had saluted M^r Couentry said I will goe into y^e next room and take a pipe of tobacco and leaue you together for a while. Then my Lord asked y^e Coll: whether he could helpe a gentleman in distress out of y^e kingdom. Y^e Coll. answered he would willingly giue him the best directions he could being a duty one gentleman owed another

* The name of the well-known family to which Robert Phelipps belonged is now spelled Phelips. In Foster's *Alumni Oxon.* the name of Robert Phelipps is given as above, but by Gardiner as Phelippes. Robert Phelipps of Montacute was born 5 February, 1618, and died 21 June, 1707, and was buried in Bath Abbey. He was Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. His name does not occur amongst the proposed Knights of the Royal Oak, but that of his brother Edward does, along with that of Colonel Humphrey Bishop of Chilcombe, Bridport. Robert Phelipps was admitted as a Fellow Commoner at Wadham College, 1633 (Somerset), and matriculated 24 October, 1634. He is described as the son of Robert Phelipps of Montacute, Kt., aged fifteen. He graduated B.A. 15 February, 1636/7. He resided in the Middle Chapel Chamber. He became a barrister of the Inner Temple in 1661, was M.P. for Stockbridge 1661-78, and for Andover 1685-7.

† [MS. Eng. Hist. c. 51.]

The Royal Miracle

but was cold enough, (hauing vnderstood yt the Lord had too warmly ingaged with Argueles faction in Scotland) which ye Lord quickly perceiued, and then told him, I am commanded to be free with you, and to let you know yt ye King is at Trent and knows not how to dispose of him selfe, he will committ himselfe to you to provide for his securitie, at which the Coll: was amazed and could not vndertake soe hazardous a promise without great apprehensions of what might not only possibly but probably (as things then stood) vnfortunatly fall out, but considering it was a riske which must be vndertaken or ye *King be lost, he told ye Lord he would vndertake it assuring him y if ye King miscaried in his hands the willing sacrificing of his owne life shuld beare testimonie to his truth and sinceritie. So the discourse being ended Mr Couentrye came in and said Well gentlemen are you agreed twas answered yeas, and after some discourse of ye Scoth affaires Mr Cou: and ye Coll: bid ye Lord good night; and early in ye morning the Coll: went to Southampton to one Mr Horne a marchant in ye towne who was a very good acquaintance of ye Coll: but he being out of towne and intending to bee at home ye next day ye Coll: left a letter for him importing yt he had earnest bussiness to speake with him, and was only gonn to Coll. St Barbes 6 miles from Southampton whither he desired him to come to him ye next day if he came home time enough. Mr Horne returning home early next morning was soe freindly as presently to come to Coll. St Barbs and found them at dinner; after they had dined, Coll. Phelipps and Mr Horne walked into ye garden and ye Coll. hauing acquainted him yt he had occasion of a barke to cary himselfe and a friend or two into France, he after some pa[use?] answered there is such a man who is now at home and his barke, soe honest a fellow yt I would trust ten thousand liues, if I were master of as many, in his hands; and I will make hast home and speake with him, then said ye Coll: doe not only speake with him but come to some agreement with him. Mr Horne answered I will and

* (fol. 4)

Mr. Robert Phelipps's Narrative

because I would not haue you appeare soe much in y^e towne I will bring him to you to morrow by 3 of y^e clock in y^e afternoone to Redbridge next day being Sunday y^e Coll: meet M^r Horne and the master of y^e Barke at y^e time and place appointed, where M^r Horne quickly stroke vppe y^e bargaine betweene y^e Coll: and y^e master of y^e Barke, which was 40^{lt}. his barke was on shoare and soe he desired some mony in hand to prouide his vessell men, and prouisions, y^e Coll: gaue him 20^{lt}. M^r Horne was to pretend he imployed him into France and [t]he master was to prouide a boat to bring his freight from y^e new forrest aboard his barke ing to fall down between *Southampton and Calshott castle on Wensday y^e Coll: promised to returne to see whether all things were ready, as he promised they shuld [be], but such was y^e sad euent of this essay y^t at y^e Collonels returne on Wendesday he found y^e barke pressed to carry prouisions to y^e fleet which then lay against Jersey vnder y^e command of Gen: Blake then y^e Coll. thought it vnsafe to make any new attempts there and soe returned againe to Salisbury, where vpon aduise with M^r Couentrye and D^r Henchman, after Bishopp of London, twas resolved to attempt y^e Sussex coast, and to y^t purpose y^e Coll: proposed to make vse of the interest of his good freind y^e faythfull and Loyall Coll. Gunter, who liued nere Chichester and twas approued Coll. Gunter being well knowen to the reuerend Doctor, whervpon Coll. Phelipps writes his letter to Coll. Gunter, and dispatched it to him by one M^r Hyde a Loyall minister, [*sic* MS.] and in y^e interim whilst Coll. Gunter was acting his part to prouide y^e vessell Coll. Phelipps went downe to Trent to bring y^e King from thence whither he came on y^e fifth of October being Sunday and next morning y^e King M^{is} Conisby (who formerly rid behind his Majestie to Lyme) Henry Peeters Coll. Wyndhams seruant went with y^e Coll. toward Salisbury, y^e Coll. knowing all y^t country perfectly well brought them in such priuat ways y^t they came nere very few houses, only the King being hungry would needs goe into

* (fol.

The Royal Miracle

Meere* (which could haue bin left on y^e left hand) and there at a true loyall Inkeepers they dined, and after dinner y^e Coll: conducted them

* I am enabled to add some new details as to the presence of Charles II at the George Inn at Mere in the afternoon of Monday, October 6, 1651. In Lawrence Echard's *History of England* preserved in the library attached to the ancient and particularly interesting parish church at Mere we are told that :—"The Travellers about Noon arrived at Mere, a little Market Town in Wiltshire, and dined at the George Inn, the Keeper of which was known by the Colonel to be faithful. He sat at the Table with the King, and discoursing with the Colonel told him the News. 'That he heard the Men of Westminster, notwithstanding their Victory at Worcester, were in a great Maze not knowing what had become of the King ; but the most received opinion was, that he was come in Disguise to London, and many Houses had been searched for him there,' at which his Majesty was observed to smile. After Dinner he familiarly asked the King, 'If he were a friend to Cæsar ?' to which his Majesty answering 'Yes,' then said he, 'Here is a Health to King Charles' in a Glass of Wine ; which his Majesty and the Colonel both pledged ; and so taking Horse, at Night they arrived at Hele."

The George Inn has undergone little material change in its internal arrangements since 1651, although a few years ago the old sign was very unfortunately changed to that of the "Talbot." Mr. T. H. Baker, whose "Notes on the History of Mere" are unusually valuable, gives me the following information concerning Christopher Phillips, the genial host of the "George," who proved so loyal a "friend to Cæsar." The name of Phillips first appears in the Churchwardens' Accounts of 1636 as purchasing a seat in the church. From that time he was privileged to provide the wine for the Visitation dinners. In a survey of the Dean's property in 1640 Christopher Phillips is the tenant of the "George" and the land still let with it. Entries of payments to Phillips for the bread and wine used for sacramental purposes are of frequent occurrence. Six of the children of Christopher and Sarah Phillips were baptized at Mere from 1639, and two of them were buried there. Christopher Phillips was buried at Mere on 26 May, 1664, and his widow died twelve years later. Although mine host of the "George" survived the Restoration, he does not seem to have clamoured for or received any personal reward for his loyalty in 1651. But Mere does not seem to have been altogether forgotten by the "Merry Monarch." On August 25, 1828, the *Salisbury and Winchester Journal* informed its readers that :—"On Sunday last the town and vicinity of Mere experienced a great treat by several merry peals from the Church bells, in consequence of the arrival, on the Friday previous, of a new bell cast by Mr. Kingstone, bell-founder, of Bridgwater ; and it is confidently hoped that under the superintendence of Mr. Hayter, organist, Mere will revive in the art of bell-ringing, for which they were formerly so famous. One of the bells bears the date of 1670, and it is generally supposed to have been presented to the inhabitants on the restoration of Charles II for their loyalty to their lawful, much beloved, though unfortunate Sovereign, who concealed himself about this part of the country, and frequently honoured Mere with his royal presence, though then deprived of its externals." On October 6, 1911, the present Vicar of Mere, the Rev. F. E. Trotman, presided at a luncheon given at the "George" on the occasion of the unveiling of a tablet



**HUMPHREY HENCHMAN, D.D., BISHOP OF SALISBURY
AND LONDON (1592-1675)**
*(After an original sepia drawing in the collection of
A. M. Broadley)*



PORTRAIT OF CHARLES II IN 1650
*(From the contemporary engraving of W. Hollar, after
the design of Cornelius Schut)*

Mr. Robert Phelipps's Narrative

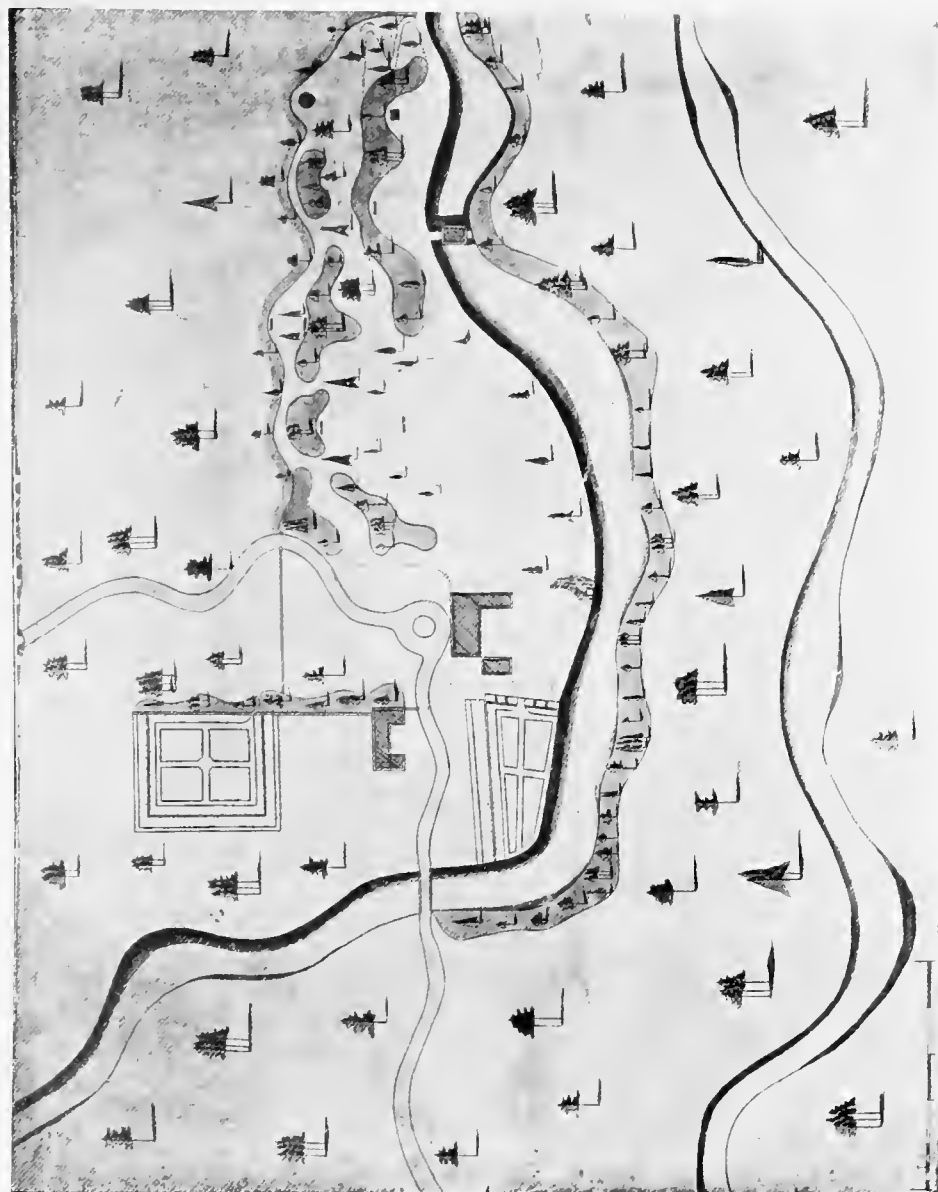
a priuate way to Heale 3 myles distant from Salisbury y^e house of y^e widdow Hyde a worthy discreet Loyall Lady whether D^r. Henchman* was come to prouide for theire reception. hence y^e next day

recording the presence there of Charles II on the same day and hour in 1651. Two enormous seventeenth-century spits were found suspended over the broad fire-place of the kitchen. In all probability they are survivors of the Carolean furniture. On October 6, 1911, the bell of 1670 was duly rung as a part of a magnificent peal.

* Humphrey Henchman (1592-1675) was the son of Thomas Henchman, of London, skinner, a native of Wellingborough, Northamptonshire. There is some doubt as to the exact place of his birth, but he was educated at Clare Hall, Cambridge, and became a Fellow of his college. In 1622 he was made "chanter" of Salisbury, and in 1628 prebendary of South Grantham in the same cathedral. It seems probable that in 1641 he held the rectory of Portland, Dorset, for the only other Humphrey Henchman whose name appears in the family tree is obviously of a later date. The devotedness with which he endeavoured to assist the escape of Charles II in October, 1651, is attested both in the accounts of Anne Wyndham and Robert Phelipps. We hear little of him between that date and October 28, 1660, when he was consecrated Bishop of Salisbury. Three years later he succeeded Sheldon as Bishop of London. He was also made King's Almoner and a Privy Councillor. He died at London House, Aldersgate Street, October 7, 1675, and was buried in Fulham Church, where no other Bishop of London is interred. Thirty years later Bowack wrote that "so great is the Veneration they have for his Memory, that several who knew him cannot Mention his Name, even now, without unusual Concern." He held the see of London during both the Great Plague and the Great Fire. The latter destroyed London House, and Dr Henchman defrayed the cost of the new chapel. The death of Bishop Henchman is thus recorded in the register; "1675. Humphrey Henchman, Lord Bishop of London, departed this life at his house in Aldersgate Street, London, on the 7th day of October, and lyes buried in the south Ile of Fulham Church under a black marable stone. bu: 13 Oct." On the demolition of the old church in 1880 the monument, which had disappeared since 1795, although surrounded by an "iron palisado," was discovered. The Latin inscription on it may be thus translated:—"Sacred to Pious Memory, In assured hope of the Resurrection, here lie the remains of Humphrey Henchman, Bishop of London, venerable alike for his gravity and for his pastoral clemency (legible in his very countenance), and also for the sanctity of his life. He was of well-tried constancy to the oppressed Church, of singular loyalty to the King when in the greatest hazards, upon whose happy restoration he was first made Bishop of Salisbury, where he remained ten years. Afterwards he was translated to the see of London, where he remained twelve years. He was also King's Almoner and Privy Councillor. Full of years and longing for his dissolution, he fell asleep in the Lord the 7th October, 1675, aged 83. My Redeemer liveth." The Henchman arms are "or, a chevron between three henchman's bugle horns sa, on a chief gules as many lion rampants of the field." Lord Clarendon possesses a fine portrait of Henchman, a copy of which by Stewart is in the Porteus Library at Fulham Palace.

The Royal Miracle

y^e King and Coll: Phelipps rid about y^e downes and veiued Stonnage and found y^t y^e Kings Arithmetick gaue y^e lye to y^t fabulous tale y^t those stones cannot be told alike twice together. This was rather necessity then cusiositie [*sic*] for y^t day being a faire day at Salisbury M^{is} Hyde gaue leaue to all y^e seruants to goe thither whilest y^e King who went away in theire sight with Coll. Phelipps in y^e morning, returned to Heale againe in theire absence, hence M^{is} Conisby and
* (fol. 4^b) Harry Peters returned home y^t day. *Y^t same euening hauing safely deliuered y^e King into y^e hands of D^r Henchman, Coll: Phelips went to see what success Coll. Gunter had in his negotiation which he found at his coming to haue bin very prosperous, for by y^e meanes of a Kinsman of his M^r Thomas Gunter, and one M^r Francis Mansell a Marchant M^r Tettershalls, was prouided to bee ready nere Broadhempson with his barke at a conuenient place to take in y^e intended freight, with which ioyfull news Coll. Phelipps returned to Salisbury on y^e 12th of October and y^e same euening D^r Henchman went to Heale to giue notice of y^e success and to prouide y^e King to bee ready at the meadow gate opening into y^e riuer, where Coll. Phelipps would bee by 2. or 3. of y^e clocke in y^e morning with a lead horse for y^e King, accordingly y^e Coll: came to y^e place at y^e time appointed but had y^e misfortune to haue y^e Kings horse breake his bridle and run vpp y^e riuer which he in some short time recouered and brought him back, but then how to mend y^e broken bitt was noe small trouble but at lenght with a strong ribbon which M^{is} Hyde helpt them too all things were in a tolerable manner amended and y^e King and y^e Coll: set forward for Bradhempson and y^t euening nere Hamilton in Hampshire they meet with Coll. Gunter and y^e Lord Wilmott and his seruant Ro: Swann, who went to a worthy Royalists house who had serued y^e king throughout y^e whole war M^r Laurence Hyde of Hinton in Caterington parish 2. days before; Coll. Gunter carried y^e King and Company to one M^r Simonds house who had married y^e Collonels sister a most harty Loyall woman where they were well



MS. GROUND PLAN OF HELE HOUSE, WILTS, AND THE SURROUNDING GROUNDS AS THEY WERE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

(By permission of the present owner, the Honble. Louis Greville)

Mr. Robert Phelipps's Narrative

treated and next morning very early went on their iourney to Broadhempson where they all arriued at night, but Coll. Phelipps left them y^t night ther toke shipping and went for London to send some monys to meet y^e King at Rouen, [*sic* MS.] y^e next day they safly landed some few leagues from Deipe in Normandy, whence they went to Rouen, where Coll. Phelipps letters with a bill of exchange meet them: [so MS. *ends*]

[There are many alterations and corrections in the above, which are not noticed, but which seem to prove the document is Robert Phelipps's autograph.]

XI

Song of
Thanksgiving

CHARLES II. THANKSGIVING SONG*

King of Great Britain.

Because God had brought him to France, out of the hands of his
hostile subjects, by the help of a noble lady.

To the melody : "Come to me, said the Son of God."

In the year 1651.

1.

FROM my mouth shall always come eternal thanks and praise to the
King of Earth and Ocean. That he did not let me fall into the hands
of those, who persecuted me and shattered my country.

2.

Oh, wonder of the world ! My army was slain ; money was
offered ; scourging and chains were threatened to those who would
not deliver me up. But the Lord in Heaven saw fit to save me,
unhappy one.

3.

He brought me to a tree. It is now like a dream of heavy sleep
to me, how I saw my enemy pass by and some of my people being
captured and others were cut down.

4.

I did just as the birds, that do not fly out of their holes until the
storm is over. Thus, on account of my mighty enemies, I had to stay
more than a day and night in this hole.

* The original of this booklet, in the British Museum, is in German. It has been
translated by Miss M. L. Arthur.

The Royal Miracle

5.

Alas ! I thought to myself during this time. What are we to Thee, Oh Lord. How soon Thou canst strike us down. Only yesterday I was Lord of three kingdoms and oh horror ! now I am like a deer full of fear and trembling.

6.

After a day and night I left the tree and looked for a larger place and also for some nourishment for my stomach. Then the power of God brought me to the house of a lady, to whom I am very grateful.

7.

She was not a Jael, full of deceit, who after first showing honour to Sisera, broke his head. She also knew quite well that I was not a Sisera who destroyed Israel.

8.

This woman was truer to me than I can say that you, Britain, ever was to me during my whole life. This woman shall also through all time carry off the price for faithfulness and honour, before all men.

9.

She took me in, gave me food and rest, although she was in fear and trembling for my enemies. But her faithfulness prevailed and this woman I give joyfully praise and honour before my enemies.

10.

She altered my hair and my clothes and rode with great courage on her horse through the country in front of me and my faithful ones. She was called Lord and we servants, to avert suspicion.

Song of Thanksgiving

11.

We rode through the middle of the town, as the enemy would be less likely to look for us there and there the danger would be least. Only fancy how I must have felt and how my heart was beating !

12.

We saw our flags. We saw the accursed place where Caroll* went to his death. The great Caroll. Yes, I still saw that passion for blood that followed me as a heritage from Caroll.

13.

I saw them rejoice in this town, because I had lost the battle. I also saw many a pious one who had to simulate a joy that was not in his heart.

14.

I saw the great Parliament that was considered such a happy one. What I thought to myself cannot easily be expressed. I held up my right [hand] and guarded my head.

15.

Thus the Lord struck the enemy's face that he looked for me but found me not, although I was there all the same. May the Lord strike him blind and obstruct the roads and paths for him, as long as he lives and is striving after my life.

16.

Thus I groaned and the Lord listened to the prayer that was in my heart and graciously brought me to a man, through whom I got a ship and escaped to France where I was safe.

* Caroll = Charles I.

The Royal Miracle

17.

May the joy of Heaven be with you, you dead heroes, who did right by me and my country. The others, who only simulated friendship, have got their reward and the spurn and scorn of all men.

18.

My thanks to you, you faithful pair of friends, who were true to me when my head was in great danger on British soil. My thanks to you, my Wilmot, for your *will* and *courage*,* your faithfulness shall be rewarded.

19.

Let our mouths always sing eternal thanks and praise to the King of Earth and Ocean. That he did not let me fall into the hands of those, who persecuted me and shattered my country.

* Pun on the name Wilmot, spelt "Willmuht" in the original. Muht = courage.

XII

The Last News from France

(Roxborough Ballads, Vol III)

THE LAST NEWS FROM FRANCE.

Being a true relation of the escape of the King of Scots *Wocester* to *London*, and from *London* to *France*, who was conveyed away by a young Gentleman (sic) in Womans Apparel: the King of Scots Attending this supposed Gentlewoman in manner of a Serving man.

The Tune is, *When the King injoyes etc*

[*Two rude oval Woodcuts of a lady much patched
and of a youth.*]

All you that do desire to know
What is become of the King of Scots,
I unto you will truly show
After the fight of Northen Rats
Twas I did convey
His Highness away.
And from all dangers set him free,
In womans attire
As reason did require
And the King himself did wait on me.

He often a service did crave
and oftimes to me stood bare
In woman's apparel he was most brave
and on his chin he had no hare;
Where-ever I came
My speeches did frame
So well my waiting man to free
The like was never known
I think by anyone,
For the King &c.

The Royal Miracle

My waiting man a Jewel had
Which I for want of money sold,
Because my fortune was so bad,
We turned our Jewel into gold,
A good thrift indeed
In time of our need,
Then glad was I, and glad was he,
Our cause it did advance
Until we came to France
And the King &c.

We walked through Westminster Hall
where Law and Justice doth take place,
Our grief was great, our courage small,
we lookt grim death all in the face,
I looked round about
And made no other doubt
But I and my man should taken be,
The people little knew
As I may tell to you,
That the King himself did wait on me.

*[Page 11, a rough woodcut of a man on horseback,
rich costume and trappings.]*

From Thence we went to fatal place
Where his Father lost his life,
And then my man did weep apace
and sorrow with him then was rife,
I bid him peace
Let sorrow cease
For fear that we should taken be,
The Gallants in Whitehall
Did little know at all,
That the King himself did wait on me.

The King he was my Serving-man
and thus the plot we did contrive,
I went by the name of Mistris Anne
When we took water at Queen-Hive,

The Last News from France

A Boat then we took
And London forsook,
And now in France arrived are we,
We got away by stealth,
And the King is in good health
And he shall no longer wait on me.

The King of Denmarks dead they say
the Charles is like to Rule the Land
In France he will no longer stay
as I do rightly understand,
That Land is his due
If they be but true
And he with them do well agree :
I heard a bird sing
If he be once their King
My man will then my master be.

Now Heaven grant them better success
With their young King than England had,
Free from war & from distress
then fortune may not be so bad,
Since the case thus stands
Let neighbouring Lands
Lay down their Arms and at quiet be,
But as for my part,
I am glad with all my heart
That my man must now my Master be.

And thus I have declar'd to you
by what means we escap'd away,
Now we bid our cares adieu
though the King did lose the day,
To him I was true
And that he well knew,
Tis God that must his comfort be,
Else all our Policy
Had been but foolery,
For the King he no longer waits on me.

London Printed for W Thackeray, T. Passenger, and Mr. Whitwood.

XIII

**His Magesties Miraculus Preservation
By the Oak, the Maid, and Ship**

HIS MAJESTIES MIRACULOUS PRESERVATION By the Oak, the Maid, and Ship.

THE OAK.

Absalom rebell'd against the King,
An Oak betray'd him to a suffering :
Boughs hang'd him first ; then *Joabs* Dart,
Thrice striking wounded his perfidious Heart.
When Second CHARLES by Rebels lost the Field,
An Oak 'gainst Rebels was to him a Shield :
It open'd wide, and in the Hollow where
Once lay its Heart, the King concealed there
Men may suspend their thoughts, Trees can define
Rebellion sinful, Royalty Divine.

THE MAID.

The Oak discharged his Trust : a female found
(Men are but Trees inverted from the Ground)
Who next takes care : the weaker seems the Hand,)
The Sun was then on *Virgo* ; Heavens Maid
Sent down a potent Influence & Aid :
They both agree : Acted by Starry Might
Lady *Jane Lane* conducts the King in spight

Of Armed Bands, safe through the numerous force,
Of Those who King from Kingdom would divorce,
William was seen : as if sh' had the *gyges* Ring,
Invisible went Royal CHARLES the King.
In vain ye search, Bloodthirsty Men, to find
Vailed Majesty her Virtue makes you blind ;
Her Faith out-acts your Malice ; and your Swords,
First drawn are melted by her softest Words
Silence in *France* of *Oreleans* Tone the Fame
Whilst *Englande* doth record the Worth of *Lane*.

The Royal Miracle

THE SHIP.

Poor Cottage of the Sea, We admire thee,
Not from thy State, or Pomp, or Pedigree ;
About thy Deck, no Statues grace thy hold,
No Mermaids with their combs ; no Stars that make
Sometimes the Sea becalm, sometimes to Quake ;
No Pontick Maels, whose towering Summits shew
How high the Suns above the Sea below,
Thy Oaky Ribs swell not the Forests Pride
Nor canst thou boast of th' Ankers by thy side,
Nor Royal sails : Ships framed by Art most Wise,
Are thus enobled of the Vastest Size.
Thy low condition, various is from them ;
Once thou secur'dst our King, the best of Men.
Thy Glory is, though mean, yet strong hast stood
'Gainst Rage of Tempests, and 'gainst Waves of Blood,
When Lyons, Tygers and those Beasts of prey,
Hunted his Life, and most would him betray.
Talk now no more of *Theseus* Ship no more,
Of that which brought Prince Lothbrook to our shore :
Drown ye the fame of former Ships, none yet
Strange to relate before so small, so great :
Worthy of Water more renowned than *Thames*,
Though she like *Tagus* yielded Golded Sandes.
If Springs of *Helicon* could make a Main
Thou shouldst ride there, Muses by their Brain
Wouldst make thee more then [*sic*] mortal their sweet Breath
Would fill thy sails, and long preserve from Death
Depths are above the clouds, those Waters there
May suit thee well, Worthy the Starry Sphere :
But if in place beneath the moon thou rest,
Which, for admiring Visitors is best,
Gaz'd on by thousands ; and when aged Time
Thy Body shall dissolve, and Limbs untune,
May Seamen holy Relicts [*sic*] them account,
And with them still the Waves when high the mount ;
Each piece an Omulet 'gainst shipwracks harm
Will stand ; 'gainst Winds and Rocks a Charm.

By John Couch M. in A. Sequestered from Housmonden, Kent.
Acquired by the British Museum 22.9.49. Sutt Col. 11. 38.

XIV

To His Sacred Majestie Loyal
Reflections

TO HIS SACRED
MAJESTIE
LOYALL REFLECTIONS
UPON
HIS GLORIOUS RESTAURATION, PROCESSION & CORONATION
*Not forgetting the ROYAL OAKE**
1660

.

Worsters miraculous escape spoke loud,
Had not Rebellion ears *deaf*, and hearts *proud*:
A sacred Brand snatcht from a field of fire,
Not to be *unking'd*, but be *humbled* higher;
When this strange Rescue made the Tyrant sweat
Who vowed, without the King, 'twas no defeat.
Had onely put heaven to some new expense,
To sanctifie *long prophaned* Providence.
Thou foundst proud Monster, one good Angel then
Was a *Life-guard* above an Hoast of men
Blest *Oake!* thou *Monarch* of the *British* Grove,
Sacred to CHARLES (thy Guest) as once, to *Jove*;
Thou *Bulwark* of our little world! does stand,
Or move impregnable by Sea & Land.
Thou *vegetive Soul!* whose glory 'tis & pride
To suffer wounds or sink, not to divide:
O were our Rationals hearted like thee,
We should not such Schisms & Divisions see,
Whose branches *Ogleby's* rich fancy made
Bear *Crownes* for Nuts; but thy best Fruit was *shade*:
When CHARLES lodg'd in thy Boughs, thou couldst not want
Many *degrees* to be a *sensible* Plant.

* In the collection of A. M. Broadley.

The Royal Miracle

O mayst thou never be transplanted more,
Never touch Earth, except thy Native Shore!
When we are dead, mayst thou survive behind,
To tell the world how *Stones & Oakes* were kind,
When *Men & Saints* were Devils! O be thou
The King of woods, and let the *Cedar* bow;
Live, and henceforth the *Tree of Life* present,
Or if thou dyest, stand thy own Monument.

Hence prophane *Ravens*, never dare to Croak
Upon the streamers of our Sacred *Oake*,
Or when you dare, O let your ominous breath
Presage not *Mans* or *Beasts*, but your own death!
Whose Branches sav'd three Kingdoms & a King
Frequent this *Tree* ye sweetest Birds that sing.
Coy *Daphne* die to *use*; the *Oake* shall now
Crown both the Poets & the Conquerors brow.
Blest Tree! When Age has hoar'd thy sides, grown thin
Has nothing left thee, but bare rits & skin,
Within thy *Concave* may *chaste* spirits dwell,
And there fix an unerring oracle.
Since (part o' th' world) thou too must mortall be,
Stand both alive & dead a *Vocall Tree*:
And let the Nations tremble at our *Stroakes*
Who have (what they all want) such
Hearts & Oaks.

XV

Some other Political Broadsides of
1651–2

A MAD DESIGNE OR, A Description of the King of Scots marching in his Disguise, after the Rout at Worcester, With the Particulars where He was, and what He and his Company did, every day and night after He fled from WORCESTER.

THE FIRST PART.

THE SECOND PART.

THE THIRD PART.

THE FOURTH PART.

THE FIFTH PART.

THE SIXTH PART.

THE SEVENTH PART.

THE EIGHTH PART.

THE NINTH PART.

THE TENTH PART.

THE ELEVENTH PART.

THE TWELFTH PART.

THE THIRTEENTH PART.

THE FOURTEENTH PART.

THE FIFTEENTH PART.

THE SIXTEENTH PART.

THE SEVENTEENTH PART.

THE EIGHTEENTH PART.

THE NINETEENTH PART.

THE TWENTIETH PART.

THE TWENTY-FIRST PART.

THE TWENTY-SECOND PART.

THE TWENTY-THIRD PART.

THE TWENTY-FOURTH PART.

THE TWENTY-FIFTH PART.

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THE FORTY PART.

THE FORTY-FIRST PART.

THE FORTY-SECOND PART.

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THE FIFTY-FIRST PART.

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THE FIFTY-SEVENTH PART.

THE FIFTY-EIGHTH PART.

THE FIFTY-NINTH PART.

THE SIXTY PART.

THE SIXTY-FIRST PART.

THE SIXTY-SECOND PART.



THE FIRST PART.

THE SECOND PART.

THE THIRD PART.

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THE FORTY-EIGHTH PART.

THE FORTY-NINTH PART.

THE FIFTY PART.

THE FIFTY-FIRST PART.

THE FIFTY-SECOND PART.

THE FIFTY-THIRD PART.

THE FIFTY-FOURTH PART.

THE FIFTY-FIFTH PART.

THE FIFTY-SIXTH PART.

A ROUNDHEAD BROADSIDE PUBLISHED AFTER THE BATTLE OF WORCESTER,
NOVEMBER 6, 1651, BY ROBERT IBBITSON, LONDON

(From the original in the British Museum)

SOME OTHER POLITICAL BROADSIDES OF 1651-2

IN addition to the broadsheets included in this volume there are some others in the British Museum, which scarcely merit reproduction in their entirety. The first of these bears the title of *The Mad Designe*, and purports to be "A description of the King of Scots marching in his Disguise, after the Rout at Worcester, With the Particulars where He was, and what He and his Company did, every day and night after He fled from Worcester." The quaint wood-cut which heads it is reproduced as an illustration. The account given of the King's wanderings is wholly imaginary, and it contains no allusion either to Boscobel or the Royal Oak. A journey to Bristol with a lady is hinted at, and the fugitives are made to reach London about "the twentyth September." Charles is said to have visited Westminster Hall, where the captured Royalist colours were displayed. Lord Wilmot having hired a ship for £120, the King having taken leave of "and thanked the Lady with many salutations and promises, to Graves-end they went, and from thence on, and a ship-board. As soon as my Lord was entred the Barque, and the King as his Servant, the Master of the vessel came to my Lord, and told him, that he knew the King, and told him, That in Case it should be known he could expect no mercy ; which saying troubled them : But at length what with money and promises, they prevailed, and so set sail for Havre de Grace, where they landed ; and from thence to Rouen, where they cloathed themselves."

A second broadside is entitled "A List of the Princes, Dukes, Earls, Lords, Knights, Generals, Maior Generalls, &c., and Colonells, of the Scots Kings party slaine and taken Prisoners." It was published

The Royal Miracle

in 1651, and of the ten portraits given below the title the first is that of William, Duke of Hamilton, who died at the Worcester Commandery. There is an emblematical figure of Death enthroned, and the following supposed proclamation as a warning to the Royalists :—

By His Majesty Death
Hieroglyphix.

A PROCLAMATION :

Whereas the Crown and Scepter of England, Scotland, and Ireland have so often been taken from me, notwithstanding all my Re-inthronisations, and I have been still laid by, yet now my victorious sword hath placed me in triumph, where I sit clothed with the Royall Robes, and weare the Crown without disturbance, where Women are my Companions, and the bones of all the dead my Subjects.

If therefore any of the generation of Charles Stuart, or other English, Irish, or Scots whatsoever, presume to jostle me, or be my Competitor, he shall soon be my Captive ; If the first step be in the Throne the second shall be in the Grave ; I have long given warning, but will be at Courtesie no longer ; And now I have begun to set so good footing on this part of the Earthen Globe that I shall attempt to Conquer all Emperors, Kings and Monarches in the World.

Given at the Rout at Worcester, the remarkable third day of September 1651 before my Regall Picture.

DEATH.

To the right of the illustration is the following text :—

REVELATION 13. 18.

Here is wisdom. Let him that hath understanding count the number of the Beast, for it is the number of a Man, and his number is six hundred three score and six.

Some Other Political Broadsides of 1651-2

Let him that hath but so much Wisdome as by Arithmaticke to adde so small a Summe, (?) , and here he shall finde count it (punctuall) to an Unite.

1. It must be substracted out of the Number which is comprehended in a Man, and that as he is the Beast.

2. This Number must amount to the just Summe of 666.

3. The Scots King coming into England with his Irish Papists, and Presbyterian Kirke, upon the account of the National League and Covenant, And by them proclaimed King of Brittain; Exactly beareth this number of the Beast.

the b—— king	.	.	.	.	003
his Irish Papists	.	.	.	.	004
nationaLL LeagVe	.	.	.	.	156
and	.	.	.	.	500
presbyterian kirks	.	.	.	.	003
					666*

Below comes "a list of the Family from which Charles the Second King of Scotland descended, that sat on the fatall Throne of Scotland & came to untimely ends." Charles I occupies the first place in the roll of unfortunate ends, with King Fergus I "drowned at Carrickfergus in Ireland." It ends by saying that "this Charles Stuart is but the 110th King that ever was of Scotland, who is Proclaimed Traytor, and Fugitive in England. His Uncle was poisoned, and his mother and brother both fled, and proclaimed Traytors to England."

Then follows a list of about 250 persons "slain, put to death or taken" in connection with Worcester fight. This broadside was printed by Robert Ibbitson in London and bears the date 1652.

* A century and a half later many hieroglyphic prints of the same character and giving interpretations of the mystic number 666 were published against Napoleon. See *Napoleon in Caricature*, by A. M. Broadley. John Lane, London. Vol. II, Chapter xxvii, p. 218 *et seq.*

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The third broadside was printed in 1651 by "J. L. Philalethes."
It is entitled :—

OLD SAYINGS and PREDICTIONS Verified and fulfilled,
Touching the young King of Scotland and his gued subjects.

JOCKEY. I Jockey turne the stone of all your plots,
For none turnes faster than the turne-coat Scots.

PRESBYTER. We for our ends did make thee King before,
Not to rule us, we will not that endure.

KING. You deep dissemblers I know what you doe,
And for revenges sake I will dissemble too.

Beneath this is a rough picture of a Scotch Presbyter holding
"young Charles's" nose to the grindstone,* which is being turned by
the "Jockey of Scotland." The explanatory verses commence thus :

"This Embleme needs no learned Exposition
The World knows well enough the sad condition
Of regall Power & Prerogative
Dead & dethron'd in *England*, now alive
In *Scotland*, where they seeme to love the Lad,
They find more obsequious than his dad," etc.

Then follows a dreary argument setting forth the reasons for
anticipating the downfall of the younger Charles, and the dire conse-
quences to Englishmen if they should be so base as "to suffer this
young Pretender to take root again, to bring them back into slavery
& monarchall [*sic*] bondage too heavy for England's shoulders to
bear. . . ." This broadsheet was probably issued very shortly before
the Battle of Worcester as a supplementary counterblast to the King's
"Declarations to his loving Subjects of the Kingdom of England & the
Dominion of Wales," which according to the resolution of Parliament,
published two days before the fatal third of September, were to be
burned by the Common Hangman.

* One hundred and sixty-three years later—in 1814—a caricature showing Blücher
treating "Little Boney" in this unpleasant manner enjoyed much popularity both in England
and Germany.

APPENDIX I

The Escape of Charles II from
Worcester on September 3, 1651

(A Paper read at the Commandery, Worcester, on September 2, 1911,
by Mr. J. W. WILLIS BUND, F.S.A.)

THE ESCAPE OF CHARLES II FROM WORCESTER

SEPTEMBER 3RD, 1651.

THE Scotch Army reached Worcester on 22nd August, 1651. The walls and fortifications had never been repaired since the surrender of the city after the siege of 1646, and were probably not in a state to offer a very effective resistance. On 24th August the parishioners of Salwarpe, who were bound to repair the Castle works by their tenure (a liability which had become extended to all the city fortifications), were ordered to come in and repair the walls. During the time that elapsed between the 24th August and the 3rd September a good deal was done to make the city defensible, exactly how much it is not easy to say.

The only part of the city which it is necessary to consider in detail are the north-east and the east sides. The main road from Worcester to the north came through Stourbridge, Kidderminster, Hartlebury, Ombersley, and Claines to Barbourne Bridge. It was along this road the Scots advanced to Worcester. Baxter, an eye-witness, says, "The army passed most by Kidderminster, a field's breadth off, and the rest through it."* Probably most of them marched in by the north or Foregate, which stood as nearly as possible between the present Hop Pole Hotel and the Berkeley Hospital. Some may also have come through St. Martin's Gate, the east gate, to which there was a road from Barbourne Bridge. It was decided to close the Foregate, and it was stopped, some say "walled up" ("murred up" is the expression.) Probably the reason was that there was no ditch in front of it, or of this part of the fortifications, and it was less capable of defence.

It will be noticed that in the old Plan of Worcester, as it stood fortified in 1651, no outworks are there shown as thrown out in front of the Foregate. St. Martin's Gate remained the only entrance to the city from the north or east. It had to be protected. About half-way down Sansome Street (opposite the Catholic Church) there was a bastion. It is shown on the plan, by a tower. About this spot a stream came down which formed the east ditch of the town. The plan shows it starting from the bastion.

This ditch continued all along the east side of the town; its course is still

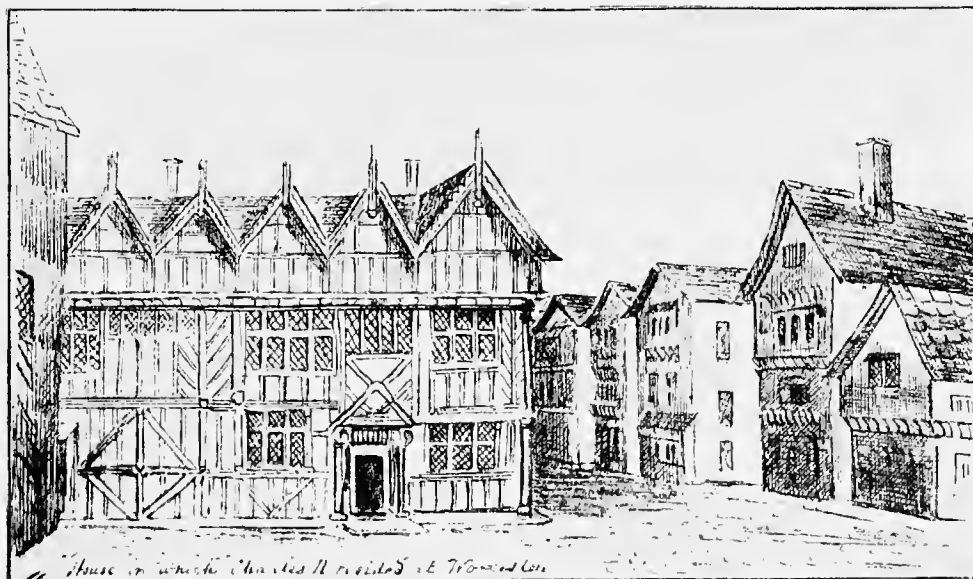
* *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ.*

The Royal Miracle

marked by Watercourse Alley, as shown in the plan, past St. Martin's Gate, Friar's Gate, Sidbury Gate, until it reached the Frog Brook which formed the Castle ditch and ran into the Severn at Diglis, just below the Cathedral Ferry. From St. Martin's Gate a road ran in a north-easterly direction to Warndon and Crowle, with a branch or branches to Droitwich and Bromsgrove, but the exact line is not clear, a branch leading to Barbourne Bridge. Across the road in front of St. Martin's Gate an earthwork blocking the approach to the gate was thrown out, probably by the Salwarpe men. If the plan is correct, between the Foregate and Friar's Gate three earthworks were made, one in what is now Sansome Street between the Foregate and the Bastion opposite the present Catholic Church, the work outside St. Martin's Gate, and a third work a little way down between St. Martin's and Friar's Gate but much nearer St. Martin's. So that St. Martin's Gate was regarded, and rightly regarded, as being a most important post, and three earthworks were thrown up to defend it. The fact that it was the only way left open for retreat to Scotland accounted for this, so the attention both of the Scots and Parliament Generals would be directed to it.

On entering the city through St. Martin's Gate any one who walks up Silver Street will be very nearly in the line of the road, the gate would be at the front where the small side street called St. Martin's Gate now goes off to the left. The ditch, coming down Watercourse Alley across the garden of the Public Hall, would probably be crossed by a drawbridge, certainly by a bridge of some kind, which the earthworks, a "tête du pont," would defend. On passing into the city an open space (the present Corn Market) would be reached; facing this was a street leading to the Cross, Mealcheapen Street, past St. Swithin's Church, from whence another street (Broad Street and Newport Street) led direct to the river. A parallel street past St. Martin's Church up the Trinity led also to the Cross. It is important to bear these details in mind because it explains why it was that Fleetwood's men when they carried Worcester Bridge at once made for St. Martin's Gate. It was in front of them, no need to turn to the right or left; its capture would completely cut off the Scotch retreat, for then the Parliamentarians would hold the only available exit from the city leading to the north.

From the Corn Market, on the left of any one entering the city, was a main street that let direct to the South Gate, Sidbury. This street, now known as New Street and Friar Street, was the direct line of retreat that any fugitives from the fight at the Sidbury Gate would take if they desired to go northwards. The occupation of the Corn Market by the Parliament troops would therefore at once cut off the line of the Scots retreat. So Fleetwood on forcing the bridge immediately made for the gate. Possibly because it was near the point of escape if necessity arose, or because it was a large house and capable of holding Charles



THE "KING'S HOUSE," WORCESTER, IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY
(From an etching executed in 1861)



KING CHARLES making his escape, attended by the five PENDERELS & FLYTES.

CHARLES AND THE FIVE PENDERELS
*(From the folding-plate in the edition of "Boscobel," published in 1769
 by S. Gamidge, Worcester)*

The Escape from Worcester

and his officers, the left hand corner house of the Corn Market was where Charles took up his quarters while in Worcester. The house was the town house of the Berkeleys of Spetchley, one of the leading families of Worcester clothiers, one of whom was the judge who had been imprisoned for giving judgment for the Crown in favour of ship money.* Portions of the house still remain, one part fronting New Street, and one the Corn Market. The whole house continued intact until the later half of the eighteenth century, when it caught fire and all the middle part was burnt out. This has been replaced by the present red brick house, one part facing New Street and the other the Corn Market. According to the plan, the house did not go back all the way to the wall, but there was a garden in the rear. The Corn Market part that is left shows that any space between the house and the wall must have been very small. It is not quite clear on which side the Corn Market, or New Street, the front door of the house was situated; probably New Street, the house appearing to have fronted that way and to have had two wings stretched out behind. This is a point of interest with regard to Charles's escape. It will not be necessary to further describe the fortifications except to say that the Friar's Gate was only a gate for foot-passengers, a sally port, and probably had no bridge over the ditch available for the passage of horsemen. Just beyond it an earth breastwork ran up to the Fort Royal, the great earthwork which commanded the Sidbury Gate, and connected the fort with the city. No available means of exit therefore were to be found on the south-east side of the city, and, as has been said, St. Martin's Gate was the one point by which in case of defeat the Scots could escape.

The wall of the city was an earthwork faced on the outside next the ditch by a wall formed of blocks of red sandstone. Its thickness varied considerably at different places, but it was probably strong enough to offer considerable resistance to the artillery of those days. As far as can be made out, the repairs to the wall consisted in repairing the stone face to the ditch where required and in throwing up and making good the soil inside. There is no evidence to show the exact depth of the ditch and how far it was passable for assailants.

There was certainly a way out from the Berkeley House to the wall, either across the garden, or, as from the present buildings seems most likely, by a passage through the house from the garden to the wall, possibly to get water from the ditch. The door from the house to the garden is probably the back door which is mentioned in the different accounts of the King's escape.

For the present purpose it will not be necessary to give the details of the battle, beyond stating that it was soon after 3 p.m. that Charles's officers found it

* Hampden's case, *State Trials*.

The Royal Miracle

necessary to do something to relieve the pressure on the Scots' right, and force Cromwell to recall the troops he kept sending to crush the Scots on the Terne, who were obstinately holding their own against the attacks of the Parliament. The Parliament centre was stationed about Redhill, on the London Road, near where the road to Stoulton and Pershore branches off from the road to Spetchley, Alcester and Evesham, while the Parliament right held the wood above the present railway station (Perry Wood) in force, so cutting off the road to London from the Scots. So the Duke of Hamilton was ordered to attack the right centre in force. This he did successfully, driving out the Parliament forces; had not his ammunition failed and if he had had any support the battle would have been won, but he was unable to follow up his success for want of support. Cromwell arrived at this crisis and then, if it ever took place, had his celebrated interview with the Devil. At this critical point Cromwell was able to rally his men and force the Scots back on their lines. These he stormed, the retreat became a rout, and the whole Scotch force became hemmed in between their own earthworks, their only hope of retreat being into the city through the Sidbury Gate, the Parliament troops occupying each side of the road. At the gate Charles was nearly taken; one version says an ammunition waggon was upset outside, so he had to dismount and crawl between the waggon and the wall; the usual story is that a loyal citizen, named Bagnall, brought up a load of hay and threw it across the road to stop the Parliament troops entering. As it is not easy to say where Bagnall got the waggon of hay nor how he got it down to the gate, in the face of that struggling crowd of Scots and Puritans, while the ammunition waggon would probably have been there, belated in conveying the ammunition Hamilton wanted which might have saved the battle, it would seem to be the most probable version that it was there that it was upset. On Charles getting inside the gate he remounted, and is said to have turned to rally his men for a charge. This however is somewhat doubtful. What is clear is that somehow between 5 and 6 p.m. he found himself at his house near St. Martin's Gate, his army reduced to a routed rabble. So he took off his armour and made his escape. In Blount's *Boscobel* it is said "he marched out at St. Martin's Gate at about six in the evening." This however it is difficult to believe, if the account is true which says that when Charles reached his quarters Fleetwood's troopers had already taken possession of St. Martin's Gate. It is just possible if the entrance to the Berkeley House was in New Street, not the Corn Market, Charles might have got into the house unobserved, even if the gate was in the enemy's hands. But the records are very hazy as to the precise time of Charles's arrival at his house from the battle and as to the time when Fleetwood's men reached the Corn Market. If Fleetwood reached the Corn Market before Charles, then the story that Charles got into the house as he could, having first sent Wilmot

The Escape from Worcester

for a horse to meet him outside the wall, and then escaped by the back door as Col. Corbett entered the front from the street, is probably correct. It is certainly the most romantic, but it has its difficulties. How did Wilmot get outside the walls and catch the horse? How did Charles get through the ditch? But the other version that Charles changed horses in Friar Street, and rode out through the gate, is also full of difficulties. Why did Charles, who had just got a fresh horse, leave it for another? How did Wilmot get out? If the gate was opened to let him out why did not the Parliament troops perceive it, and why was there no pursuit? How did Charles get his horse over the earthworks? On the whole, it would seem that the story of his getting into the house and escaping from it by the back is the most probable. But there are also difficulties here. How did Charles cross the ditch? How did he find Wilmot? Why was no opposition offered to the Parliament troops? Whichever it was, either through the gate or across the wall, the King joined Wilmot, and taking their way down the Crowle Road they turned off to the left and at last reached Barbourne Bridge, one mile from Worcester. Here, against Charles's wish, it was decided to make for Scotland.

The party proceeded along the road they had come to (Worcester to Ombersley), where Massey left them, turning off and going to Droitwich, thence on past Mitre Oak through Hartlebury, and to avoid Kidderminster turned to the right through Murstowe Green towards Stourbridge. How exactly they reached Stourbridge is not clear, probably by Hagley and Pedmore, as the road through Kidderminster was full of fugitives; according to Baxter, some went through Kidderminster and some by it. He goes on to say that Cromwell's troops stood to intercept the Scots in front of his house, that is in front of the "Lion," where the road to Stourbridge turns to the left. Baxter says many hundreds passed by. Charles says he kept on the right hand, letting all the greater number of men go along the road. This Baxter confirms. It is therefore likely that the King followed the regular road by Merstowe Green to Stourbridge, and then on to Boscobel. But the exact spot where he left Worcestershire and turned into Staffordshire has long been the subject of controversy, and quite a number of places between Kidderminster and Stourbridge are said to be the place where the King passed in his flight from Worcester.

APPENDIX II

The Municipal Accounts of Expenses Incurred at Worcester in August and September, 1651, in connection with the Sojourn of Charles II in the Faithful City (August 22–September 3)

(A Paper read in the Commandery, Worcester, at the meeting held
there September 2, 1911, on the occasion of the Commemorative
Pilgrimage, by Mr. F. T. SPACKMAN, F.G.S.)

THE PERSONAL EXPENSES OF CHARLES II IN THE CITY OF WORCESTER, 1651.

THE interest which has been aroused in the city by the proposed commemoration of the events which occurred in Worcester on September 3rd, 1651, is considerable, and various items of information which before were regarded as normal, are now seen to possess a new significance in view of the severe criticism with which old beliefs and traditions are now being met.

The King's entertainment whilst in the city was at the charge of the civic purse, and the curious detailed account of these charges is set out in the Council's records. By courtesy of the Town Clerk of Worcester I have had the privilege of examining the City Accounts for the year 1651, and of photographing some of the pages.

The accounts of the city are comprised in a series of foolscap folio volumes, commencing with the year 1540, from which time they are complete, with the exception of the twenty-two years from 1600 to 1623, and they exhibit the whole revenue and expenditure of the Faithful City, as annually audited by the proper civic authorities. These ancient volumes throw much light upon historic events which have had local effect, as well as upon customs and transactions more peculiarly confined to the citizens and their city; but many researches have been made by historians and antiquaries for information of the eventful period of the Battle of Worcester, without any result beyond a few casual items which possess little direct interest. Possibly many records were abstracted by the troopers of Cromwell, for at the audit of 1652 is an

Item payed Stephen Fields, who had payed to a
soldier to regayne some of the records that
were taken out of the Treasure . . . 5/-

No audit of the accounts occurred at the Feast of All Saints, 1651. Probably paralysed by the dire calamity of war, and with its chief officers in custody, the city abandoned for the time the routine of its usual business, and gave way to the melancholy lassitude which reaction from the excitement of so terrible an event was well calculated to produce.

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The audit for 1652 was resumed as usual, but curiously the audit of 1651 did not take place until 1655. The current accounts for that year are to be found in their proper place, without any reference to those of 1651, whilst the latter are recorded at the extreme end of the volume (which concludes with 1669), where they are entered in reverse form.

The account thus commences :—

CITTIE OF WORCESTER. 1651.

At a chamber there houlden the Twelfth daye of Aprill, in the yeare of the Lord One Thousand five hundred fyfty and five.

It is ordered that Mr. ffownes and Mr. Hemynges Accompts as Chamberlaynes accordinge as they are stated By Mr. Beddoes, Mr. Wyldy, Mr. Sollers, Mr. Longmore, and Mr.]Gworle bee entered in the Audit Booke.

The account of Thomas ffownes and Richard Hemynge, late Chamberlaynes of the Citty of Worcester of moneys by them Receaved and Disbursed To and for the use of the said Citty, for the Rents and Revennues of the said Citty. As followeth, begininge from the feast of All Saints in the yeare of the Lord 1650, untill the feast of All Saints in the yeare of the Lord 1651.

Then follows a general statement of civic receipts and expenditure, comprising about six pages; some of the payments refer to the repair of the fortifications, but they are not of any special interest. The account then continues :—

They praye to be]allowed the seuall somes of money which they were enforced and compelled to paye and disburse for provision for the Scotts Kinge]dureinge the tyme he remayned in this Cittie, which was charged upon the Cittie and allowed by the chamber.

	£	s.	d.
The 22th of August, One Veale, two muttons, and three strikes of Salt	02	18	00
The 23th of August, one side of mutton, and twelve quailes	00	17	00
One side of mutton and three quarters of Lambe	00	17	06
One Calfe of veale, a Tongue and elder	01	02	08
ffower muttons, 46 Chickins and Henns, and two Rabbits	04	10	06
Two dozen of Piggions, nyne ducks, and three Piggs	01	00	01
Two Henns, five quailes, two quires of paper, and two elders of beefe	00	09	04
One veale and 24 poundes of butter	01	15	06

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	£	s.	d.
Two poundes of butter, 18 egges, and a Botle of viniger . . .	00	03	04
The 24th August, One veale, tenn pounds of butter, and five doxen of egges	01	05	08
fflower cowple of Rabbetts, one ffeazant, and one elder of beefe .	00	13	06
Two Turkies	00	04	06
One Pott of butter, waighinge 28 pounds, pott and all, and five Hartichoakes	00	12	01
The 26th August, Three Muttons, one veale, and two Rabbetts	03	10	04
Three dozen of egges, and one pott of butter, waighinge eightene pounds	00	10	04
Two pounds of butter and two dozen of egges	00	01	06
The 27th August, fower Muttons, two Henns, and a botle of Viniger	02	17	10
Two pounds of butter, Twelve chickens, and five ducks . . .	00	00	00
Two Turkies, fower Pigges, and fower Rabbetts	00	17	10
Two bottles of Viniger, three tongues, and 40 pounds of butter	01	11	04
fflower Henns, tenn dozen of egges, and fower Pigeons . . .	00	08	00
One whole Beefe	04	10	00
The 28th August, Two Henns, five Chickens, and a bottle of Viniger	00	06	00
Three Muttons, one veale, and Twenty pounds of butter . . .	03	03	00
Six pounds of Bacon, six Pulletts, and a Dozen of Piggions .	00	10	04
Three strikes of Salt, Eight Henns, and eight chickens . . .	01	08	10
Two Partridges, two Turkies, and two Piggions	00	07	02
for Milke for the Pastry, and fower dozen of egges	00	01	10
The 29th August, One veale, fower Muttons, and fower pounds of Bacon	03	19	04
for Trouts, Piggeons, fower dozen of Eggs and seaven pounds of butter	00	06	07
fower Piggions, six Rabbetts, and a bottle of viniger	00	07	03
Two Tongues and Twelve poundes of butter	00	08	00
The 30th August, two muttons, one veale, two henns, and five chickens	02	17	03
Twelve pounds of butter, Three dozen of Egges, and five Tongues	00	16	02
One Dozen of Piggeons, fower henns, and fowerteene Chickens .	00	11	03
Tenn pounds of butter, one bottle of viniger	00	08	00
for fowle bought by John George	01	00	00
The 31st of August, one veale, one Lambe, two Piggs, and a dozen of Piggions	01	18	10

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	£	s.	d.
Nyneteene pounds of butter, Three dozen of Egges, Three Muttons, and a bottle of viniger	03	12	09
The first of September, five pounds of butter, five chickens and fower henns	00	08	11
Two Muttons, three sides of Lambe, and three Dozen of Egges .	02	02	00
A Bottle of viniger, two Pigges, and fower pulletts	00	10	10
for Herringes, Oyle, Cabbidges and rootes	00	01	02
for two muttons, one cowple of Pulletts, and five pounce of butter	01	18	08
The second of September, One cowple of henns, a dozen of chickins, and 4 pounds of butter	00	08	11
Three Muttons, one veale, 24 egges, and a pounce of fresh butter	03	11	00
Tenn stone and nyne poundes of beefe, five Cowple of Chickens, and one cowple of henns	01	18	06
five poundes of butter, 12 egges, and a gallon and a point of viniger	00	08	05
Two Muttons	01	08	06
The Third of September, one veale, fower muttons, and seaven poundes of Bacon	04	10	07
Halfe a veale, one cowple of Henns, and fower cowple of Chickens	01	01	04
One dozen of egges, two cowple of Piggions, and two poundes of butter	00	03	10

Wine bought for the uses aforesaid.

The 22th of August, paid for one Rundlett of Sack and seaven gallons att vi ^s viii ^d the gallon, one Rundlett of Claret and two gallons and a quart att 5s. 4d. the gallon and a Rundlett of white wine and to gallons & a quart att v ^s iiiii ^d the gallon .	04	17	04
The 23th of August, for a gallon of Sack and a gallon one pottle and a point of Claret	00	15	04
The 24th of August for five gallons of Sack and five gallons of Claret	03	06	08
The 25th of August for tenn gallons and a pottle of Sack and eleaven gallons & a pottle of Claret wine	06	11	04
The 27th August for eight gallons of Sack and thirteene gallons and a quart of Clarrett wine	06	04	00
The 28th of August for nyne gallons and a pottle of Sack . . .	03	03	04
The 30th of August for tenn gallons of Sack and eleaven gallons of Clarrett	06	05	04
The first of September for three gallons and a quart of Sack and eleaven gallons of Clarrett	04	00	04

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The second of September for nyne gallons of Sack eleaven gallons of Clarrett and five gallons of white wine . . .	£	s.	d.
	07	05	04
The third of September for nyne gallons of Sack eleaven gallons and a quart of Clarrett and for a dozen and a halfe of glasses	06	06	00

Spices.

The 25th of August one Pound of pepper and halfe a pound of Ginger and fower poundes of Mace	00	06	08
fower ounces of Nutmegges and two quires of paper & thirteene pound & a half of sugar	01	07	01
One ounce of Cloves one ounce of mace and an ounce of pepper	00	01	11
One ounce of nutmeggs one ounce of Sinnimon one ounce of sugar and a Charger of Sweet meates	00	19	00
The 29th of August thirteene pounds and a quarter of sugar thirteene pounds of reasons & eight pounds of currants . .	01	13	09
fower pounds of sugar fower pounds of raisons and three pounds of Barley	00	12	00
fower sugar Loaves waighinge 13 pounds & a halfe three pounds of Currants fower ounces of pepper & fower ounces of cloves	01	10	04
Two ounces of mace fower ounces of nutmegges and fower ounces of Sinnomon	00	06	00
for a gallon and a poynt of Olives a quart of Oyle and halfe a pound of Anchoves	00	10	09
for one quire of Capp paper and two quires of writinge paper . .	00	01	11

Candles bought.

The 27th of August for five pounds of Candles	00	02	06
The 28th of August for Thirty pounds of Candles	00	12	06
The 31th of August for Twelve pounds of Candles	00	05	00
The first of September for Twelve pounds of Candles	00	05	00
The second of September for two Dozen pounds of Candles . .	00	10	00
Paid the Porters and Crickers for carring beare from severall places	00	04	06

ffruit.

The 23th of August for ffuite	00	11	04
The 24th of August for ffuite	00	04	08
The 25th of August for ffuite	00	05	00

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	£	s.	d.
The 26th of August for fruite	00	03	04
The 27th of August for fruite	00	04	00
The 28th of August for fruite	00	05	03
The 29th of August for fruite	00	02	06
The 30th of August for fruite	00	05	06
The 31th of August for fruite	00	02	00
The first of September for fruite	00	03	00
For a dozen of Lemmons and a Dozen of Oringes	00	02	06
For five Cucumbers	00	00	03
For five Oringes and tenn Lemmons	00	01	06
The second of September for fruite	00	04	06
The Third of September for fruite	00	08	11

fflower.

Paid John George for 53 Pecks of ffyne fflower att ij ^s vj ^d the peck	06	12	06
Paid John George for 16 peckes of Wheaten fflower att ij ^s the peck	01	06	00
Paid John George for nyne peckes of ffine fflower att ij ^s vj ^d the peck	01	02	06
Paid John Stoneall for fower peckes of fyne flower att ij ^s vj ^d the peck	00	10	00
Paid Edward Jecocks for three peckes of fyne flower att ij ^s vj ^d the peck	00	07	06
Paid John Clarke for five peckes of fyne flower att ij ^s iiij ^d the peck	00	14	10
Paid Roger Clarke for fower strike of wheaten meale att vij ^s iiij ^d the strike	01	09	04
Paid Richard Durant for two bushels of meale	00	14	06
Paid for Mainchant spent att the Denery	00	13	09

fflower sent into the pastrey.

Two strike and halfe of flower, the one strike att 10s. and the other strike and halfe at 10s. vj ^d	01	00	06
five Peckes more att ij ^s iiij ^d the pecke	00	14	00
One pecke and a halfe of flower att	00	03	10
Two Peckes of flower att	00	05	00
fflower Peckes more of fyne flower att	00	10	00
Two Pecks more of flower att	00	05	00
They praye to be allowed that they were Compelled to paye to the Scots Kinges Officers which they claymed as their fees due to them	02	05	00

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	£	s.	d.
They praye to be allowed That they paid to severall persons that were sent into the Country to buy provisions	00	05	10
They praye to be allowed that they paid Thomas Winsmore for ale for the Kinge of Scotts Table	02	00	00
They praye to be allowed that they paid for a dozen of Damaske napkins sent to the Denery and there lost	01	04	00
They praye to be allowed that they paid for fower Rundletts sent to the Denary with wyne and there lost	00	10	00
They praye to be allowed that they paid for Twiggen and glasse wine bottles sent to the Denary and there lost	01	01	02
They praye to be allowed that they paid for Three Butter potts lost or broken att the Denary	00	01	06
They praye to be allowed that they paid for three point potts sent with Olives to the Denary and there lost	00	06	04
They praye to be allowed that they paid for two Pewter Dishes lost att the Denaey	00	05	04
They praye to be allowed that they paid for two flasketts and a Baskett sent to the Denary with fruite and there lost	00	02	08
They praye to be allowed that they paid two men that were hired to Carry and re-carry provisions and other necessaries betweene the Denary and other places in the Towne	00	80	10

Provinder.

Paid for three strikes of Oates	00	07	06
for two strikes of Beanes	00	05	04
for Twelve strikes of Oates	01	09	00
for Three strikes and a halfe of Oates	00	08	02
for Thirteene strikes of Oates	01	12	06
They praye to be allowed that was required of them by Henry Bauldwin, Henry Richards, Roger Pitt and others, and by their meanes with compulsion of the souldiers were forced to paye Henry Baldwin	04	00	00
To Roger Pytt	00	10	00
They praye to be allowed that they were enforced to paye for Eight Hundred a quarter and 23 pounds of Barr Iron	07	18	01
For two pounds of the best steele	00	01	06
For worke done by Earls gate and his men	00	14	00
For Three hundred of Lead att 15s. the hundred	02	05	00

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	£	s.	d.
Paid to the Kinge of Scotts Trumpeter	01	05	00
They praye to be allowed that they paid for a banquet of sweet meates which Mr. Pytt deliv ^{ed} to entertaine the Kinge of Scotts as by a note under Mr. Pytt's hand appeareth	03	02	10
They praye to be allowed that was by them paid for Charges in Lawe brought against them for Mr. Pytt's debt and Mr. Baldwin's debt	01	00	00
They praye to be allowed that was by them paid unto Mr. Ashbie as executor of Launcelott Stoneall for glasses which Mr. Stoneall delivered	01	00	00

The totals are not brought down or carried forward, but from marginal notes of the accountant he appears (there are some inaccuracies) to have made the final total £183 14s. 4d.

Although this curious account thus concludes in an apparently unfinished manner, still, from the nature of the last entries, there appears little doubt that it is perfect and entire. The precise place of the King's stay whilst in Worcester has been hitherto the subject of some uncertainty, but the last eight items in the account for "flower" appear sufficiently conclusive that His Majesty found quarters at the Deanery.

If this be so then the generally accepted belief that the King was quartered in the Corn Market falls to the ground, and we can only suppose that "King Charles' House" received its name from the legend that the King escaped through it when he fled from the city after the disaster of September 3rd.

The ancient and faithful city did not forget its congratulations upon His Majesty's Coronation after the Restoration in 1661. This appears from the following extract from the audits:—

The said Chamberlaines praie to be
Allowed and are allowed the Charge Expended the Day
of the Kinge's Matie^{ty}s Coronation.

	£	s.	d.
(vizt.)			
Payed Mr. Solley for twelve quarts of Clarrett Wyne, sixe quartes of Canarie sack, sixe quartes of white wine, two ounces of Tobacco, and twelve papers of sugar sent to the Towne hall, that time being the 23th of April, 1661	01	10	00
Payed him more for 3 quartes of Canarie sack, 3 quartes of white wine, and sixe sugars sent to the Hall at the same time	00	09	00
Payed Thomas Read for 2 quarts of Sack and two quartes of ffrench wine sent to the hall the same time	00	05	08



THE OLD DEANERY, WORCESTER, NOW DEMOLISHED

(From an eighteenth-century engraving in possession of Mr. F. J. Spackman)

The Municipal Accounts of Expenses

	£	s.	d.
Payed Ambrose Meredith for 53 ^b weight of gunpowder	02	13	00
Payed him for six dozen of Match	00	09	00
Payed him for two pounds of Tobacco	00	07	04
Payed Robert Brooke for two hogsheads of beere and a grosse of Tobacco Pipes	03	01	00
£08 15 00.			

The civic worthies, whilst thus roystering over the accomplishment of their loyal hopes, sought also a more permanent mode of evincing their attachment to the royal person, as I find at the same audit :—

They are allowed the charge of setting up the
Kinge's Statue at the Towne Hall.

	£	s.	d.
PAIED Stephen Baldwyne for cuttinge and settinge up the Kinge's Statue accordinge to the agreement	20	00	00
Payed him more for his men's wages in setting up of the pediston and the arch	08	12	00
Payed Baynham for the stone for erecting the pillar	02	07	00
Payed John Twitty for carrienge of Stone from Hadley	03	00	00
Payed for the vse of the winde to winde up the Stone and Statue	00	02	00
Payed John Edkins for gildinge the Statue by Maior's order	04	00	00

Other charges occur for stone from Hadley, for labour, and various expenses, amounting in the whole to £41 4s. 6d.

Amongst the names which will be for ever remembered in connection with the escape of the King is that of Penderel. Those trusty men were honoured then with a degree of warmth with which heroes are received. One very interesting entry in the audit of 1665 attests this :—

For wyne from Mr. Reade when the Penrells who
p'served the King were at the hall 8/—.

One or two other interesting and curious facts may be gathered from these accounts.

The King is everywhere spoken of as the King of Scots, although he had been publicly proclaimed King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland by the Mayor (Thos. Lysons) and the Sheriff (James Bridges). But these two men had paid the penalty of their loyalty and temerity. They had been taken prisoners after the battle, sent to London, and committed to the Tower to await trial. Subordinate officials were very careful not to incur a like displeasure of the ruling powers. The accounts were made up and audited while Cromwell was paramount.

Another curious thing shown by the accounts is that when the citizens were

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desirous of appeasing those in power after the King's flight, they sent them presents of lamprey pies. Twelve lampreys were made into four pies which were sent to London as a present to the Lord General and the Lord Chief Baron. Eight lampreys were made into two pies and presented to Mr. Lechmere and Major Salloway. These six pies cost the citizens £1 4s. od., and the carriage of them to London, 12s.

In feasting the King the citizens spent lavishly. "One whole beefe," "one calf of veale" are representative items; but there are no lampreys. Possibly the citizens remembered the fate of a former king—Henry I had died of eating lampreys—and they wished to run no risk with Charles II, the monarch who had not then merited the sobriquet of "merrie."

APPENDIX III

**Items relating to the Battle of Worcester,
September 3, 1651**

(Transcribed by Mr. R. H. Murray, of Eldesfield, Worcester, from the Church-wardens' Accounts of St. Michael in Bedwardine, Worcester)

ITEMS RELATING TO THE BATTLE OF WORCESTER /

		£	s.	d.
Itm	Rec ^d . of Mr. Richard Blurton for breaking the ground in the body of the Church for buryall of a <i>Scotchman</i> that dyed in his home	00	04	00
Itm	Rec ^d . Nov 24 th 1651. of <i>Mrs Anne Wyldd of the Comandere</i> from a private gentleman of Herefordshire to be distributed amongst the poor of this said parrish, & those that had suffered extremities by sickness or <i>plunder</i> (being part of 20 ^{li} sent to the Citty & suburbs)	01	10	00
Itm	payd to Mr Hunt & others Sep 17 th for <i>buryall of some of the Scotts</i>	00	01	00
Itm	bestowed in <i>biere</i> upon an Officer of the Marshalls in procuring him to <i>cleere our Church of the Scotts</i>	00	00	06
	Ffor making cleane the Church Oct 29 th (Mr Huband being then dead) 2 ^s -6 ^d . and for Carryage of the litter away w ^{ch} the <i>Scotts lay upon</i> 6 ^d	00	03	00
	The 10 ^s . Rent of Mr. Williams after the death of Mr Huband was distributed in <i>Nov: 1651.</i> as follows, viz. to 20 men and women at from 4 ^d to 12 ^d each <i>including a poor Scotchman & A Scotchwoman</i> 12 ^d . each	00	10	00
Itm	The 10 ^s . Rec ^d . of Mr. Kent was then distributed the 11 th of November 1651. (his wife being then buried in the Church) as followeth viz—to 18. poor men & women 6 ^d . and <i>A wounded live Scott</i> 6 ^d & a <i>Scotchwoman</i> 6 ^d each	00	10	00
Itm	The xxx ^s . rent of Mrs Ann Widd from Thos Horsforth Shield Gent. was distributed the 26 th of November 1651—as followeth. To 24. men & women at from 6 ^d to 2/- each including the above <i>A wounded live Scott</i> 1/- <i>A Scotchwoman</i> 1/- & W ^m <i>T Leigh in prison</i> 1 ^s . 6 ^d	1	10	00
	To 13 women 5 men each receiving from 1/- to 5/- each & the <i>Scotchwoman</i> 1/6 & a <i>poor live Soldier</i> 2/-	2	00	00
1652	Imprime ffor the charges of <i>transportinge of cripples</i> at several times since the say ^d Leonard came into his said Office	00	12	00

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1655	To Robert Birch in Discharge of certaine money heretofore	£	s.	d.
	Disbursed by him in the pish behalf in the time of the warres	01	14	00
	To 11 women at from 1/- to 4/- each & to 5 poor men at			
	from 1/- to 2/6 & to A <i>wounded Live Soldier in great distress</i> 2/-			
	And to ye 2 Churchwardens out of Harris guift 1/-	1	10	0
	Layd out by Robert Birch one of these Accountants as			
	followeth viz			
	ffor buryall of those Scotts that were slain & dyed in o ^r			
	parrish, the Pallace the College, College Green, Castle Hill			
	& ye privity of those several places & of divers others that			
	were brought out of ye Cittie of Worce ^r & lay ^d in the			
	Churchyard	2	9	4

APPENDIX IV

Charles II at Brighthelmstone

By FREDERICK HARRISON, M.A.

(A Paper read at a meeting held at the Brighton Library and Museum
on the occasion of the visit of the Carolean Pilgrims to that
town on September 8, 1911*)

* Owing to the illness of the author of the paper it was read by his brother, Dr.
Walter Harrison.

CHARLES II AT BRIGHTHELMSTONE

THE story of the escape of Charles II from Brighton to France is so well known locally from the account of Colonel Gounter, which has been often reproduced in books dealing with our Royal Town, that I should feel that some apology was needed for repeating the narrative, if it were not for the presence of our visitors who have made the Commemorative Pilgrimage, and to whom we extend as hearty a welcome as we should to the Merrie Monarch himself, if he favoured us with another visit.

Some thirty years ago, the late Mr. Frederick Sawyer, an antiquary of considerable repute, contributed an article to the *Sussex Archæological Collections* on the Escape of Charles II, which is so exhaustive that I have but little to add to it.

The sources from which my story is compiled are :—Colonel Gounter's narrative ; the account dictated by Charles to Pepys at Newmarket in 1680 ; and from Baker's *Chronicles of the Kings of England*. I have not omitted also to read what our Mayor says in his interesting and scholarly work, *Sussex in the Great Civil War*.

It was on Wednesday, 15 October, 1651, that Colonel Gounter, having failed to secure a boat at Emsworth, and elsewhere, arranged with Captain Tettersell through Francis Mansel, a merchant who traded with France, and lived at Ovingdean, to have a vessel ready at short notice to carry the King to France. I shall take up the account from the time that Charles and his friends arrived at Bramber. They had met Morley, the Governor of Arundel Castle, as he was going out to hunt, but fortunately escaped notice by dismounting. When they arrived at Bramber they found the place full of soldiers who had been sent to guard the bridge. Lord Wilmot suggested they should turn back, but Gounter advised going on boldly. This they did and passed unsuspected by the Roundheads ; but they were not yet free from all danger, as the same soldiers, some forty in number, came on and overtook them, brushing by them in a narrow lane and almost unhorsing them. At Beeding Gounter had provided some refreshments for the King, but Lord Wilmot would have no stopping while the soldiers were about. As it was considered safer that they should part, Gounter agreed to ride on to Brighton and see that all was clear and send word to Charles. The King left the road and I assume took to the Downs. Gounter rode on, and on his arrival at

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Brighton found all clear, and the George Inn free from all strangers. Having taken the best room he ordered supper, and was regaling himself with a glass of wine when Charles came, having found no accommodation to his mind elsewhere.

Before continuing my narrative I should like to say a few words about Southwick and its claim to a share in the King's escape. There is a tradition that the Green was given by Charles to the people out of gratitude for his escape; and there is an old cottage which claims to have been a hiding-place for His Majesty. The cupboard upstairs and the steps leading to it may be seen. So far as the Green is concerned I have investigated the matter, and have ascertained that there is no evidence whatever to support the legend. The Green formed a part of the waste of the Manor of Horton, and all the rights of the lord were transferred to the District Council of Southwick in 1901. There is no entry on the Rolls as to the Green in the time of Charles II, and consequently he could not have given it. There is no mention of Charles having been to any cottage while riding to Brighton from Beeding; but as he said himself that he could not find any accommodation to his mind elsewhere, he must have looked for it. It is therefore just possible, as Tettersell's boat was lying in the harbour there, that he entered the cottage, but he could only have stayed there for a few minutes if he did so, as he rejoined Gounter soon after his arrival at the George Inn.*

A second tradition is that of Charles having been to Ovingdean. This has been popularised by Harrison Ainsworth's interesting novel, *Ovingdean Grange*. In the Grange there is a recess behind a fireplace, which is the traditional hiding-place. As we shall see that Charles was only in Brighton for a few hours, it would have been impossible for him to have gone to Ovingdean at all. He had no necessity to go there.

So much for two traditions; now for the third. Where was the George Inn? Until lately the King's Head, West Street, was considered to be the house. The name was changed from the George to the King's Head after the Restoration. Mr. Sawyer investigated the matter thoroughly, and from the fact that after a careful examination of the Court Rolls the present King's Head is not even described as an inn until 1754—when it is called the George—whilst there was “an Inne called the George” on the east side of Middle Street in 1656—there can be but little doubt that it was there and not in West Street that Charles stopped for the night. However, I have recently seen in the splendid collection of prints and drawings of old Brighton belonging to Mr. Blaber, of Cromwell Road, a water-colour drawing, made by a local artist in the first half of last century, which purports to be a copy of a print dated 1662. In this the King's Head in West Street is

* See Introduction, pp. 45-6.

Charles II at Brighthelmstone

certainly shown. I have not seen the original print, and at the British Museum they have been unable to corroborate the existence of such. Another detail is of interest. Gounter says that the horses were led the back way to the beach. This was quite possible for the West Street house, as there were no buildings behind it and only one between it and the beach on the south, even years later. The house in Middle Street would have had some cottages in the rear as well as to the south of it.

On the water-colour drawing we read : "Ye King's Head in ye West Street, at Brighthelmstone : in which Kyng Charles passed ye night before his happy escape into Fraunce. (From a scarce print in the possession of Bulkeley C. Ricketts Esqr) Date on the print 1662."

Madame D'Arblay writes that "Mrs. Thrales' house was at the court end of Brighton, exactly opposite the King's Head, where Charles II stayed just before his escape to France." She adds : "I fail not to look at it with satisfaction, and his black-wigged Majesty has from the time of the Restoration been its sign." On Royal Oak Day, 29 May, this sign had a branch of oak attached. The sign has since disappeared.

To return to our narrative of the party at the George Inn.

On the arrival of the King and Lord Wilmot, Smith, the innkeeper, came to Colonel Gounter and told him that more guests had come. When Gounter heard the King's voice saying to Lord Wilmot, "Here, Mr. Barlow, I drink to you !" he asked Smith to inquire whether one of the guests was not a major in the King's army. The innkeeper did so, and the Colonel being satisfied as to who the newcomers were joined them, and the party sat in Gounter's room for supper. In the number were Tetttersell and Mansell. The King was quite at his ease, cheerful as usual, without showing any fear whatever of danger. The sang-froid of Charles enabled him on many occasions to play the part of a Roundhead successfully. When supper was finished, Tetttersell took Mansell aside and complained that he had not been dealt fairly with ; as although he had been paid a good price (£60) for carrying over gentlemen he had not been told clearly who they were. "For," added the skipper, "he is the King and I know him to be so !" Mansell denied this ; but Tetttersell persisted, saying that Charles, when in command of the fleet in 1648, had taken his boat with other fishing vessels off the Downs, but had let them go again. Tetttersell was, however, loyal, for he said : "Be not troubled at it, for I think I do God and my country good service in preserving the King ; and by the grace of God, I will venture my life and all for him, and set him safely on shore, if I can, in France."

Mansell informed the King of what Tetttersell had said. It was not long before Charles was again recognised. This time it was by Smith, the innkeeper,

The Royal Miracle

who is said to have been in the late King's Guards. Smith kissed Charles's hand and said : "God bless you, wheresoever you go ! I do not doubt, before I die, but to be a lord and my wife a lady." Charles laughed and went to another room to avoid further conversation.

Gounter wished to know when Tetttersell would be ready. The skipper said his boat was lying aground and he could not get her off that night. The wind had been contrary. The King then opened the window, and observing that the wind had changed, £10 more was offered to Tetttersell to get off that night. He said he could not, but he would have his crew aboard. Another difficulty then arose. Tetttersell said he must have his bark insured, and Gounter was obliged to accede to the request to the amount of £200. Yet one more demand from the skipper. He required a bond. This upset Gounter and he became indignant, saying that there were other boats. The King interposed and said that the word of a gentleman, especially before witnesses, was as good as his bond. Tetttersell was at last satisfied and went off to get ready. The King and Lord Wilmot then rested for a few hours in their clothes. Gounter apparently was on watch while they retired and aroused them about two in the morning. Charles in the account he gave Pepys says four o'clock. The horses were led the back way to the beach and they went towards Shoreham, taking Tetttersell with them on horseback behind one of the company. As Charles said it was about four miles from Bright-helmstone, the boat would have been lying off Southwick.

As it was low tide the King and Wilmot went up the ladder and lay down in the little cabin. The "Surprise" was lying dry.

About seven o'clock in the morning it was high tide and the boat sailed away. Gounter took leave of the King and begged his pardon if he had done anything through error that might happen amiss ; he also begged the King not to divulge who had helped him in his escape as it might bring them into trouble. The King readily promised not to divulge and kept his word, telling many fairy tales in regard to his flight from Worcester.

Gounter waited until eight o'clock with horses in readiness in case anything unexpected should happen, and it must have been with a sigh of relief that he saw the boat disappear in the distance, sailing in the direction of the Isle of Wight as if Tetttersell had a freight of sea-coal for Poole. Gounter had not left Brighton two hours before soldiers came thither to search for a tall black man six feet two inches high.

Tetttersell desired the King to aid him in avoiding any suspicion on the part of his small crew by a subterfuge. The King was to go to the men and say that he and Wilmot were two merchants who had money owing them at Rouen and were afraid of being arrested in England. Would the men back him up in

Charles II at Brighthelmstone

persuading the skipper to change his course and land them somewhere near Dieppe? Charles did so. His persuasive powers plus twenty shillings won the men over to his plan, and they went with him to Tetter sell to persuade him to run to France. Tetter sell counterfeited unwillingness at first but yielded to pressure. The next morning they were off Fécamp. As there was a vessel in sight Charles and Lord Wilmot landed in a cock-boat. Richard Carver, the mate, a descendant of Alrych Carver, carried the King to shore on his back. They had no sooner reached shore than a storm arose and Tetter sell was obliged to cut the cable and lost his anchor, for which Gounter had to pay £8. The boat was back at Chichester on the Friday.

After the Restoration Tetter sell was rewarded by a commission in the Royal Navy and a pension. In 1671 he acquired "one messuage or tenement one stable one garden and one croft of land belonging to the same and containing by estimation one rood the Old Shipp &c in the Hempshares." This was no doubt part, if not the original site, of the present Old Ship Hotel. Whether he kept the house as well is not known. In 1670 he was High Constable of Brighton. In 1674 he died and is buried in St. Nicholas Churchyard. The inscription on his tombstone to the south of the chancel runs thus:—

P M S

CAP NICHOLAS TETTERSELL THROUGH WHOSE PRUDENC^E
VALOUR AN LOYALTY CHARLES THE SECOND KING OF
ENGLAND AND AFTER HE HAD ESCAPED THE SWORD^F
HIS MERCILESS REBELLS AND HIS FFORCES RECEIVED A
FATALL OVERTUROWE AT WORCESTER SEPT^R 3^D 1651
WAS FFAITHFULLY PRESERUED AND CONUEYED INTO
FFRANCE DEPARTED THIS LIFE THE 26TH DAY OF JULY 1674
WITHIN THIS MARBLE MONUENT^M DOTH LYE[↑]
APPROUED FEAITH HONO^R AND LOYALTY
IN THIS COLD CLAY HE HATH NOW TANE UP HIS STATIO^N
AT ONCE PRESERUED^E Y^E CHURCH THE CROWNE AND NATION
WHEN CHARLES Y GREATT WAS NOTHING BUT A BREAT^H
THIS UALIAINT SOULE STEPT BETWEENE HIM AND DEATH
USUPPERS THREATS NOR TYRANT REBELLS FROUNE
COULD NOT AFFRIGHT HIS DUTY TO THE CROWNE

The Royal Miracle

WHICH GLORIOUS ACT OF HIS FOR CHURCH AND STATE
EIGHT PRINCES IN ONE DAY DID GRATULATE
PROFESSING ALL TO HIM IN DEBT TO BEE
AS ALL THE WORLD ARE TO HIS MEMORY
SINCE EARTH COULD NOT REWARD HIS WORTH HAUE GRIE
HYE NOW RECEUES IT FROM THE KING OF HEAVEN

IN THE SAME CHEST ONE JEWELL MORE YOU HAUE
THE PARTENER OF HIS VERTUES BED AND GRAUE

fff

fff

fff

SUSANNA HIS WIFE WHO DECESED Y 4 DAY OF MAY 1672

—

—

—

TO WHOSE PIOUS MEMORY AND HIS OWNE HONO NICHOLAS
THEIRE ONLY SON AND JUST INHERITE OF HIS FEATHERS
UERTUES HATH PAYD HIS LAST DUTY IN THIS MONUMENT

I 6 7 6

HERE ALSO LIETH INTERRED THE BODY OF CAPTAIN
NICHOLAS TETTERSELL HIS SON WHO DEPARTED THIS
LIFE THE FOURTH OF THE CALLNDS OF OCTOBER
1701 IN THE 57 YEAR OF HIS AGE

APPENDIX V

The “Miraculous Divergence”
of Tuesday, September 23, 1651

The Second Episode of the West Dorset Pageant, July, 1911



By the Parliament.

A PROCLAMATION

Discovery and Apprehending of **CHARLES STUART**, and other Traytors

Whereas **CHARLES STUART** Son to the late Tyrant, with divers of the English and Scotch Nation, have lately in a Traytorous and hostile manner with an Army invaded this Nation, which by the blessing of God upon the forces of this Commonwealth have been defeated, and many of the chief Actors therein slain and taken prisoners; but the said Charles Stuart is escaped: For the speedy Apprehending of such a Malicious and Dangerous Traytor to the Peace of this Commonwealth, The Parliament doth straightly Charge and Command all Officers, as well Civil as Military, and all other the good People of this Nation, That they make diligent Search and Enquiry for the said Charles Stuart, and his Abettors and Adherents in this Rebellion, and use their best Endeavors for the Discovery and Arresting the Bodies of them and every of them, and being apprehended, to bring or cause to be brought forthwith and without delay, in safe Custody before the Parliament or Council of State, to be proceeded with and ordered as Justice shall require; And if any person shall knowingly Conceal the said Charles Stuart, or any his Abettors or Adherents, or shall not Reveal the Places of their Abode or Being, if it be in their power so to do, The Parliament doth Declare, That they will hold them as partakers and Abettors of their Traytorous and wicked Practices and Designs: And the Parliament doth further Publish and Declare, That whosoever shall apprehend the person of the said Charles Stuart and shall bring or cause him to be brought to the Parliament or Council of State, shall have given and bestowed on him or them as a Reward for such Service, the sum of One thousand pounds; And all Officers, Civil and Military, are required to be aiding and assisting unto such person and persons therein. Given at Westminster this Tenth day of September, One thousand six hundred fifty one.

Wednesday the Tenth of September, 1651.

Ordered by the Parliament, That this Proclamation be forthwith Printed and Published.

Hen: Scobell, Cleric. Parliamenti.

London, Printed by John Field, Printer to the Parliament of England. 1651.

PROCLAMATION OFFERING £1000 REWARD FOR THE APPREHENSION OF THE FUGITIVE KING ISSUED BY THE PARLIAMENT ON SEPTEMBER 10, 1651

(From the original in possession of the writer)

CHARLES II. AT BRADPOLE

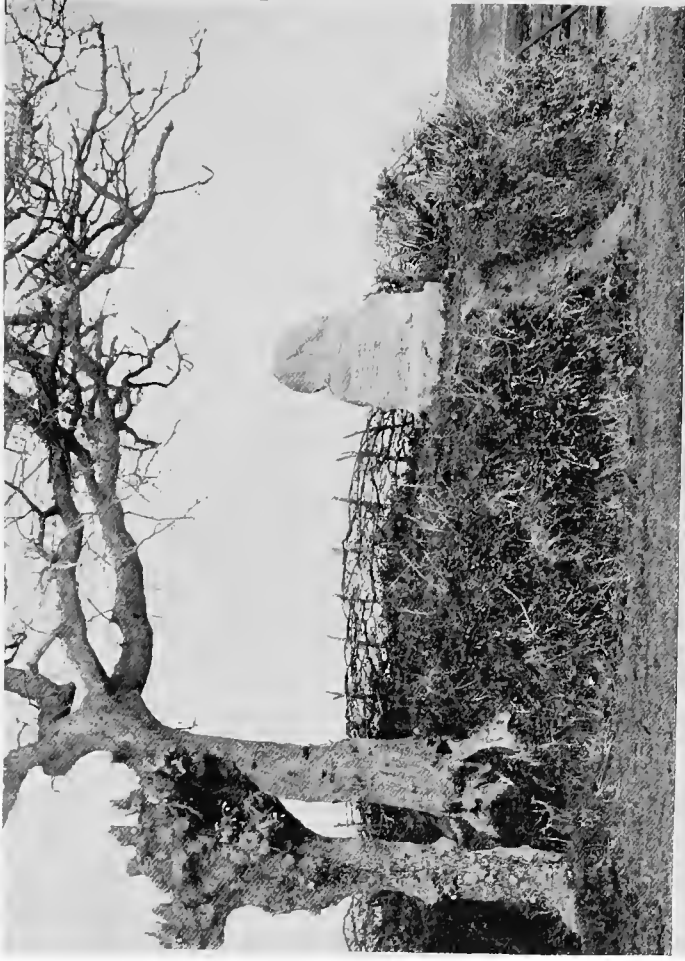
TUESDAY, September 23, 1651, marks one of the most important and interesting events in the annals of our native village. It was on that day that occurred the romantic adventure to Charles II during his flight from Worcester, known to history as the "Miraculous Divergence," which is commemorated at the present moment by a stone, placed ten years ago, on the 250th anniversary of this thrilling royal adventure, at the junction of the Dorchester Road with Lee Lane. The Battle of Worcester was fought [on September 3] in that year, and in the course of his flight southwards, after sustaining a crushing defeat, Charles II and his companions arrived on September 17 at the mansion house of the Wyndhams at Trent, near Yeovil. The young King, who had attained his twenty-first year in the preceding May, was disguised as a serving-man, and called, first, Will Jones, and then Will Jackson. After his arrival at Trent, Colonel Wyndham arranged with one Stephen Limbry, a Lyme skipper, that his vessel should take the fugitives on board at Charmouth, and convey them across the Channel. Early in the morning of Monday, September 22, Charles II, accompanied by Lord Wilmot, Colonel Wyndham, Miss Juliana Coningsby, and a serving-man, Henry Peters by name, made their way to Ellesdon Farm, a lonely house surrounded by woods, about two miles from Charmouth. Here they were met by Mr. William Ellesdon, whose account of the proceedings, in the shape of a letter addressed to Lord Clarendon, is preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Charles spent the afternoon at the farm, relieving the tedium of waiting by drilling a hole through a gold coin, which he subsequently presented to Ellesdon. In the evening the party moved to the "Blind" Inn at Charmouth, which for long years after was known as the Queen's Head. Here he passed the night, but in the early morning it became evident that some hitch had occurred. As a matter of fact, the handbills offering £1,000 reward for the King's apprehension and threatening those who might harbour him with dire penalties, had so frightened Limbry's wife that she turned the key on her husband in order to prevent his carrying out the project he had agreed to. I will not here dwell on the incidents of his stay at Charmouth, which properly belong to the history of that picturesque village, and not to that of Bradpole. About noon on the following day the King and his companions reached the

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George Inn, Bridport, then occupying the site of the well-known chemist's shop of Messrs. Beach. Here they partook of a hasty lunch, but Charles, who personated a groom, felt that he had been recognised in the stable yard, and Lord Wilmot sent to say that the troops at Charmouth were moving eastwards and that it was necessary to leave Bridport immediately. When they arrived near the first milestone on the Dorchester Road, which is close to the Bridport Cemetery, Lord Wilmot joined them and a hasty consultation took place between the fugitives, as Lord Wilmot who now rejoined them had reason to believe that more troops were advancing on Bridport from Dorchester, possibly with the object of intercepting the party. The ready wit of Charles stood him in good stead. He at once said that nothing else would save them but taking the first turning to the left and doubling back to Trent, where their presence had not been as yet suspected. A few minutes later they turned into Lee Lane, and had not been long hidden by its high and leafy hedges when they heard the clatter of the Roundhead cavalry riding swiftly towards Bridport. The King and his party, crossing our village of Bradpole, struck on the blind lane, traces of which are still visible, leading to Watford, where they a little later arrived. It was by pure chance that towards evening they found themselves at Broadwindsor, as they had intended to keep more to the right with the object of reaching Trent as soon as possible. The adventures they met with at Broadwindsor do not immediately concern us, although they are quite as interesting as those which they encountered at Charmouth. The loyalty of Rhys Jones,* the landlord of the George at Broadwindsor, was as great as that of Margaret Wade, the landlady of the Queen's Head at Charmouth. An accidental quarrel between the soldiers, who happened to be at Broadwindsor on their way to embark at Bridport or Lyme for the Channel Islands, and the parochial authorities, favoured the King's escape, although he occupied the best room in the inn, immediately above the disputants, the noise of whose wrangling reached his ears. Setting out before dawn on Wednesday, September 24, Charles II and his companions soon found safety at Trent. Charles remained there for some time, but on Tuesday, October 14, he reached Brighton in safety, and on Wednesday, October 15, between seven and eight a.m., he set out in the good ship "Surprise," commanded by another sturdy loyalist, Captain Nicholas Tetttersell,† bound for the Isle of Wight and the Dorset port of Poole. At five p.m., when still in sight of the island, a favourable wind sprang up which took them rapidly to the French

* Formerly a servant of the Royalist Colonel Bullen-Reymes, of Waddon, near Weymouth, a kinsman of the Wyndhams.

† This name is spelled in at least a dozen different ways.



STONE ERECTED BY THE WRITER ON SEPTEMBER 23, 1901, TO COMMEMORATE THE ESCAPE OF CHARLES II AND HIS COMPANIONS BY TURNING OUT OF THE DORCHESTER ROAD INTO LEE LANE, BRADPOLE, ON THE AFTERNOON OF SEPTEMBER 23, 1651, SINCE KNOWN AS THE "MIRACULOUS DIVERGENCE "

The “Miraculous Divergence”

coast. Next morning Charles and Lord Wilmot were rowed ashore in the cock-boat and landed at Fécamp. No sooner had they landed than the wind changed, and Tetttersell was able to reach Poole without a suspicion that he had visited France.

It is in this way that Bradpole played an important part in what has been called the “most remarkable romance” of English history.—A. M. B.

The Royal Miracle

West Dorset Pageant

July 20, 21 and 22, 1911

EPISODE II

The "Miraculous Divergence," or the providential escape of Charles II from capture by turning down Lee Lane, Bradpole, on Tuesday, September 23, 1651. By A. M. BROADLEY and H. POUNCY.

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ.

KING CHARLES	Aged twenty-one, disguised as a serving-man, Will Jackson . .	<i>Mr. N. D. Bosworth-Smith</i>
LORD WILMOT	His friend	<i>Mr. T. C. W. Carlyon</i>
COLONEL WYNDHAM . .	A Royalist	<i>Rev. R. B. Goodden</i>
PETERS	A servant to Col. Wyndham . .	<i>Mr. H. G. Way</i>
WILL WADDON	A farmer occupying White House Farm	<i>Mr. T. H. Beams</i>
BEND-THE-KNEES JENKIN .	A Roundhead soldier in Cap- tain Massey's troop	<i>Mr. Philip Martin</i>
JULIANA CONINGSBY . .	A girl about twenty	<i>Mrs. R. B. Goodden</i>

The "Miraculous Divergence"

EPILOGUE

TIME. *September 23, 1651 (early morning).*

PLACE. *Outside White House Farm at the Bradpole extremity of Lee Lane, to left of high road to Dorchester.*

BEND-THE-KNEES JENKIN, *a Parliamentary trooper, enters on horseback. He dismounts and surveys the entrance to the house.*

JENKIN. Ha, this door will serve my purpose right well. Here will I affix the proclamation.* But who dwelleth here? (*knocking loudly*). A God-fearing Commonwealth man, I hope.

FARMER WADDON (*coming out*). How now? Who art thou, and what is thy will?

JENKIN. I am Bend-the-Knees Jenkin, a servant of the Lord and of the Commonwealth of England. And thou art, by God's grace I hope, an honest Parliamentary man.

FARMER WADDON. I trust I am an honest man.

JENKIN. That malicious and dangerous traitor, Charles Stuart, is lurking in this neighbourhood. List now (*reads proclamation and fixes to door*). So beware, good Master Farmer, and mind your ways.

WILL WADDON (*watches him out of sight, then tears it down, crumples it up, and stamps it under foot*). A thousand pounds reward, indeed! Ten thousand would not tempt a Waddon of Bradpole to betray his liege lord and King.

KING CHARLES and JULIANA CONINGSBY *riding pillion*, LORD WILMOT, COLONEL WYNDHAM and the servant PETERS *all on horseback arrive from the left. They draw rein near the entrance gate to the farm.*

KING CHARLES (*reining up his horse and mopping his brow with a kerchief, turning gallantly to JULIANA CONINGSBY*). Fair lady, wert thou jolted too rudely in this breakneck gallop downhill for our lives?

JULIANA CONINGSBY. Nay, your Majesty, mind me not. Any jolting better than capture by that rascally horde. Haply you are now safe!

* See Illustration, p. 265.

The Royal Miracle

KING CHARLES. Odds fish! friends, 'twere indeed a near shave. Five minutes later, and the rightful King of England might have tasted in person the temper of the Bridport dagger * and met a felon's doom. Short would have been my shrift, unless indeed that caitiff Massey had sent me on to London to share my sacred father's fate 'fore Whitehall. A lucky thought that, that counsel our retreat to Trent. That timely divergence, 'twas almost miraculous, was our salvation. Ne'er will I forget what I owe to this leafy lane in sweet West Dorset. But who cometh here?

WILL WADDON (*emerging from his gate and doffing his hat deferentially*). Good morrow, gentlemen all. Your servant, and yours, fair lady! To what does our poor Bra'pole owe this coming of so goodly a company? We have not seen the like since the Darset Committee turned our pa'son adrift, and now Mister Sampson with his vinegar face gives us sermons as long and as dry as old Barty Wesley's over at Charmouth yonder. But come, gentlemen, full sure am I by the looks and the locks of ye that I am talking to no Cropheads, but to King's men, staunch and true like m'zelf.

COLONEL WYNDHAM. Ah, I'll warrant ye. So thou'rt no Roundhead rapscallion.

LORD WILMOT. Nay, I'll go bail. These are honest folk; the West breeds no traitors.

WILL WADDON. Not I. And let me tell 'ee the Waddons have been King's men, right and tight, lock, stock and barrel, from the merry May Day when Queen Katherine, God rest her soul, crowned Dolly Waddon as Queen o' the May, when she comed here a hundred an' dree year agoo Bra'pole Veast.

COLONEL WYNDHAM. Ah! 'twas a queen at Bradpole, then. I suppose thou knowest me not? (*pushing back his hat to show his face more clearly*).

WILL WADDON. Why, sure 'tis Colonel Wyndham hizself. I zeed 'ee, Colonel, at Ivell [i.e. Yeovil] Veair last Michaelmas; and now I greet 'ee well at me own varm geate.

COLONEL WYNDHAM. Good friend, I thank thee. These young folk here (*pointing to the KING and JULIANA CONINGSBY*) have just got hitched up on the sly. 'Twas a runaway match, thou must know. I go with them across the border into Devonshire until this fair damsel's father, my good cousin Digby, finds his choler appeased.

* i.e. a halter that was known facetiously as "a Bridport dagger." By the Act of Parliament passed in the twenty-first year of the reign of King Henry VIII Bridport had the monopoly of making all the ropes required for the Royal Navy. In the old "morality" play of that period entitled *Hycke Scorne* an actor named "Imagynacyon" is made to say that the inhabitants of Newgate have once a year some "taw-halters of Burporte."

The “Miraculous Divergence”

WILL WADDON (*who suspects the identity of the KING, aside*). A likely story. (*Aloud.*) Well, ye're all right welcome to the White Farm, as welcome as King Charles hisself would be, God save him from his foes, should he ever chance to come here to Bra'pol! What can I do for 'ee? What 'ull yer Worships teake? 'Tis a warmish day, an the zeweâtens be droppin' off ye an' off yer hosses. Try a drap ov our zyder. 'Tis a perty tippie, every whit zo bright an' brisk as what the wold monks did meake a hundred year an' mwore agoo up yonder at Loders Priory.

JULIANA CONINGSBY. Good Colonel, accept this honest man's offer. I feel somewhat faint and weary. Can we not tarry here a spell?

LORD WILMOT. Hark, friends, I hear the sound of horsemen.

COLONEL WYNDHAM. Belike (*pausing and barking for a moment for any sounds approaching*). Time presses, and we might have Harry Digby at our heels before we know where we are.

KING CHARLES. Come now, a tankard of cider would not be amiss after our hot burst from Bridport. The dust of your Dorset roads has made my drotle as dry as parchment. So bring out your cider, my good fellow.

WILL WADDON. Ay, that I u'll. But won't your worships an' the lady come in and rest awhile?

COLONEL WYNDHAM. No, no! We'll take it here in the saddle. Haste thee, we must not tarry.

LORD WILMOT. Tarry! Nay indeed. There be times when a man may stay too long by his cup.

WILL WADDON (*retiring with alacrity*). Ay, ay, I'll be sprack.

KING CHARLES (*turning to his companions*). An honest soul, by my crown. Would God that all my subjects were of his kidney.

JULIANA CONINGSBY. Then would not your Majesty be now so hot and thirsty as you are. (*Laughter.*)

KING CHARLES (*desiring to retort with a courtly compliment*). Nor perchance have so fair a lady riding with me on the same horse.

(JULIANA turns her head to hide her blushes, whereupon, to save her confusion, WADDON reappears bearing a tray with tankards and a flagon of cider. While pouring out the cider and presenting it to them with a profound bow to the youthful KING, he sings the ROYALIST SONG :—*)

* Dramatic licence must be pleaded for the introduction of the song, as well as for the characters of Waddon and Jenkin. The Waddons of Bradpole, now extinct, are often mentioned in connection with the history of Dorset during the Civil War. A hill in the village bears that name.

The Royal Miracle

HERE'S A HEALTH UNTO HIS MAJESTY.

Here's a health unto His Majesty
With a fal, lal, lal, la, la, la, la,
Confusion to his enemies
With a fal, lal, lal, la, la, la, la,
And he that will not pledge his health,
I wish him neither wit nor wealth,
Nor yet a rope to hang himself,
With a fal, lal, lal, la, la, la, la,
(and so forth)

KING CHARLES (*smiling with pleasure, doffs his hat*). Worthy Waddon, fain would I make thee meet recompense for thy loyalty in these sorry times. But when Charles comes to his own again, he will not forget thee, thy cider, or thy song (*setting down his tankard and smacking his lips*). No bad stirrup-cup. And now we must away.

JULIANA CONINGSBY. Let me add my thanks to Will Jackson's. By my troth, 'tis a strange honeymoon. Good-bye, farmer (*waving her kerchief*). We hope to meet you again in Somerset.

(*The fugitives ride off to the right.*)

END.



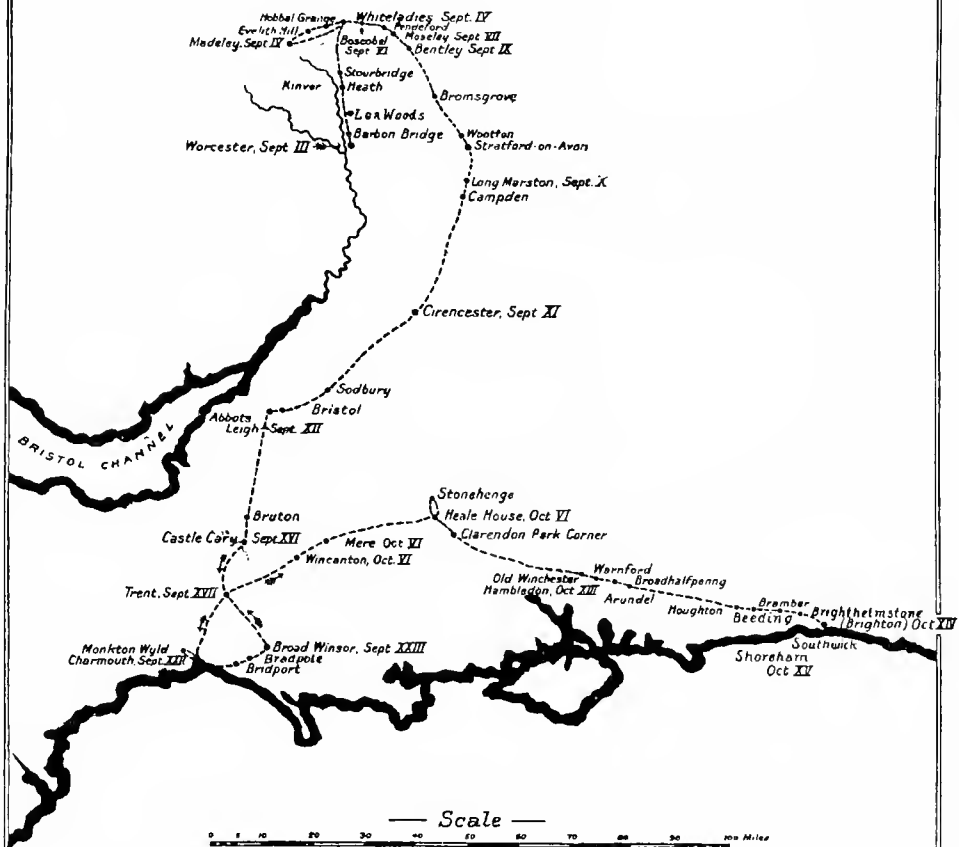
GROUP OF THOSE TAKING PART IN THE "MIRACULOUS DIVERGENCE" EPISODE IN THE
WEST DORSET PAGEANT, JULY 20, 21 AND 22, 1911

APPENDIX VI

The Flight of Charles II

Commemorative Itinerary, September 3, 1911

Map of Charles II Flight from Worcester.



SKETCH-MAP SHOWING THE COURSE OF THE FLIGHT OF CHARLES II FROM WORCESTER TO BRIGHTON AND SHOREHAM, SEPTEMBER 3–OCTOBER 15, 1651

THE FLIGHT OF CHARLES II. COMMEMORATIVE ITINERARY, SEPTEMBER 3-8, 1911. As amended after the Pilgrimage, by ALFRED BREWIS.

King's route.	Date of King's arrival.	Notes.	Roads, &c.	Miles.	Route.
Worcester	—	Lodged at existing half-timbered house in New-Street	Take road over Barbon Bridge to Barnhall, going through Ombersley Turn to right at fork; proceed through Hartlebury Turn to right at fork, and so on to Kidderminster Do not cross river, but proceed for Sion Hill, leading to where the King crossed to Wolverley (Lea Castle Park?); take branch road to Blakeshall and Kinver		
Barbon Bridge Kinver Heath	—	Existing red brick house where King had refreshments	Cross Stour in Stourbridge Take road to Wombourn Proceed to Upper Penn Leave high road and turn to left for Whightwick along by-road	28½	952
Stourbridge	—		Turn to left along high road to Bridgnorth for Then turn to right along a by-road going past Wrottesley into the Holyhead road Continue to Albrighton (station of G.W.R.) Then turn to right and proceed to Manor of Humphreston		
Whiteladies	Sept. 4 (morning)	House no longer exists. Ruins of Priory to be seen. Tomb of Dame Joan	Then turn to left and straight on to Whiteladies Return for Then turn to right and into main road to Tong	14 3½	

The Royal Miracle

King's route.	Date of King's arrival.	Notes.	Roads, &c.	Miles.	Route.
Hobbal		Only a fragment of Hobbal Grange, Richard Pen-derel's home, still exists	Walk up Hobbal Lane for Return to Tong and continue on main road for Turn to left and proceed for Where turn sharp to left for Tong Lodge		
Evelith Mill		The original Mill does not exist	Turn to right and proceed straight on for Evelith		
Madeley	Sept. 5 (morning)	King lodged at what is now called the "Upper House"	Keep straight on through Kemberton to Madeley Return to Whiteladies	8½ 11¼	
Boscobel	Sept. 5 (evening)	Boscobel House still exists; and descended at Royal Oak to be seen	Continue to Boscobel Turn to right and then to left to Long Birch		
Moseley Hall	Sept. 7 (midnight)	Still exists	Here ask way to Pendeford, as roads are very com- plicated, where cross main road, and continue to Moseley Take road to Bushbury Then turn to left, taking road to Willenhall Continue on main road, turning to left for Then turn to left and proceed to Bentley Hall . Return to main road and turn to right and pro- ceed to Wolverhampton Take main road to Kidderminster and continue to Bromsgrove Then along main road through Headless Cross to Alcester Then through Great Alne and Little Alne to Wootton Waven	12 6 20½ 13½	954 923
Bentley Hall	Sept. 9 (midnight)	The original house no longer exists			
Bromsgrove					
Wootton Waven					

The Flight of Charles II

Stratford-on-Avon			Take main road past Bearley Station to Stratford-on-Avon	13	916	131
Long Marston	Sept. 10 (evening)	King lodged at Mr. Tomes's house, which still exists; it is now called Old King Charles	Proceed along main road for Then turn to right for Marston Station . . . Thence through Pebworth to Broad Marston (Long Marston?), then returning through Pebworth to Marston Station, continue on main road to Chipping Campden	5 1	924	
Chipping Campden			Continue on main road to Stow-on-the-Wold .	18	860	
Cirencester	Sept. 11 (evening)	King lodged at the Sun Inn; existing	Continue to Northleach Continue to Cirencester Proceed straight along to Thames Head Bridge Then turn to right at fork and on to Tetbury Then through Didmaston, Dunkirk Then turn to left at cross roads and proceed through Petty France, Cross Hands Inn Turn to right for Chipping Sodbury Proceed by Yate, Nibley, May's Hill, Coalpit Heath, Damson Bridge, Cleve, Ridgeway, along main road to Bristol Then through Bristol and Clifton, and over Suspension Bridge, and turn to right and continue to Abbots Leigh Return to cross roads near Suspension Bridge and proceed straight on (not over bridge) through Brislington, Totterdown to Prestleigh . . . Keep to left at fork and proceed through Evercreech, Milton, Clevedon, and so on to Bruton	19	870	
Sodbury				36½	868	
Bristol				3½	824	83
Abbots Leigh	Sept. 12 (evening)	The original Abbots Leigh Court does not exist Monument to Sir George Norton in Leigh Church commemorating the King's escape		...	848	
Bruton						

The Royal Miracle

King's route.	Date of King's arrival.	Notes.	Roads, &c.	Miles.	Route.
Castle Cary . . .	Sept. 16 (evening)	The Manor House has been rebuilt	Take road going through Bedminster, Chew Stoke, and Harptree, to Castle Cary . . .	35½	812
Trent . . .	Sept. 17 (morning)	Trent House still exists <small>Charles II's hiding-place is still shown, although the interior has been greatly altered.</small>	Thence to Trent Take road here to Over, and continue to Babylon Hill Cross the main Sherborne-Yeovil road, and turn to right for Yeovil Through Yeovil to fork of roads beyond Wind-whistle Continue through Crewkerne to Axminster by Tytherleigh	10 3 ... 24½	800 718 713
Ellesdon Farm Monkton Wyld	Sept. 22 (noon)	This house stands a little off the new main road running from Axminster to Charmouth	Thence to Monkton Wyld and Charmouth . . .	6	
Charmouth . . .	(evening)	King lodged at the Queen's Arms; still existing			
Bridport . . .	Sept. 23 (morning)	King stopped at the George Inn, part of which is now the shop of Messrs. Beach, chemists	From Charmouth through Morecamblake and Chideock to Bridport	7	86 719
Bradpole . . .	(early afternoon)	King turned down Lee lane to left from Dorchester road	Along Lee lane, Bradpole, across village, and passing site of the Knapp House, through Watford to Chartnole and Broadwindsor . .	..	716

The Flight of Charles II

88

Broad windsor	Sept. 23 (evening)	King lodged at the George—an old outbuilding remains, but the principal part has been rebuilt	Then through Beaminster, Evershot, to Melbury-Sampford Then through Melbury Park to Ryme Intrinseca Past Bradford Abbas and Babylon Hill . . .	28½	
Trent . . .	Sept. 24 (evening)		Cross the Yeovil-Sherborne road, and thence back to Trent by by-roads . . . Proceed through Adbear, Sandford Orcas, Charleton-Horethorne Thence to Wincanton . . .	3	718
Wincanton Mere		King stopped to dine at the George Inn, which still exists	Thence proceed to Mere (George Inn) Then continue through Hindon, Fonthill to Chilmark Turn to right for Teffont Magna, continuing to Dinton Proceed through Barford, St. Martin, Wilton	16	699
Heale . . .	Oct. 6 (evening)	Very little of the original house exists	Turn into by-road for Lower Woodford and continue to Heale . . . Take road to Stonehenge (Amesbury) . . . Return to Heale . . . Cross River Avon to Winterbourne Gunner, along by-road . . . Clarendon Park Corner (Pitton) Then proceed through Farley, West Titherley, East Tytherley Past Lockerley, along intricate by-roads to Dunbridge Station Through Mortisfont, Romsey, Bishopstoke, Fair Oak to Upham . . . Continue to Bishops Waltham, and pass Corkhampton	30½ 5 5 10	682 692
Clarendon Park Corner				26½	652

The Royal Miracle

King's route.	Date of King's arrival.	Notes.	Roads, &c.	Miles.	Route.
Old Winchester			Proceed to Exton (Old Winchester Hill on the right)	14½	654
Warnford	Oct. 13 (evening)	The old house no longer exists	Warnford (George Inn)		
Hambleton			Return from Warnford to Exton, and thence through Meon Stoke to Hambleton	...	642
			Proceed along by-roads through Emsworth, New Fishbourne, Chichester	33	656
Houghton			Proceed through West Hampnett, Boxgrove		
Arundel			At fork of roads keep to right		
Bramber			Then up Bignor Hill to Houghton		
			Continue to Arundel		
			Proceed to Sompington, Lancing, Old Shoreham to Bramber		
Beeding	Oct. 14 (evening)	The King lodged at the George Inn, which no longer exists. The modern King's Head is supposed to occupy the site	Continue to Upper Beeding	33	635
Brighton			Continue to Portslade, and thence to Brighton		
					505

NOTE FOR MOTORISTS.

The figures in last column refer to route numbers in the "Contour" Road Book.
Throughout the Commemorative Pilgrimage the course of the King's flight was followed as closely as practicable, but between Heale House and Warnford it was found advisable to take the road via Salisbury, Romsey and Winchester.—ALFRED BREWIS.

APPENDIX VII

The Carolean Commemorative
Pilgrimage

September 3 to September 9, 1911

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THE CAROLEAN COMMEMORATIVE PILGRIMAGE OF SEPTEMBER 3 TO SEPTEMBER 9, 1911.

ON Saturday, September 2, 1911, two powerful cars (a 42 Daimler with Michelin and Dunlop tyres, and a 20-30 Renault with Michelin and Continental tyres) arrived in the Faithful City. In the first were three travellers coming from distant Northumberland, while the second contained five passengers hailing from West Yorkshire, travelling in a very comfortable body made by Rippon, of Huddersfield. On the site of the ancient Worcester Foregate ("mured up" in August, 1651, by Charles as soon as his army had passed through it) they were joined by a ninth pilgrim, who had also journeyed from Dorset to Worcester by motor. In the glorious sunshine of September, 1911, it was somewhat difficult to reconstitute the stirring scenes of September, 1651. In the busy, prosperous Worcester of to-day one seeks in vain for the somnolent quietude generally supposed to characterise a cathedral city, but it is still dominated by the stately tower from the summit of which, in the early morning of Wednesday, September 3, 1651, the young king of twenty-one and his loyal advisers looked down anxiously on the positions along the winding Severn occupied by their enemies. In the autumn which followed the "fatal battle" of 260 years ago, Worcester suffered severely for its devotion to the Crown. The walls and gates were mercilessly "sighted" by order of the Commonwealth, while many of the leading citizens were fined and imprisoned. A gibbet of extraordinary height was erected before the door of the Mayor, who was summoned to London to justify his conduct. Close to the Hop Market Hotel, now occupying the place of the vanished Foregate, certain portions of the seventeenth-century *enceinte* which escaped the action of the Cromwellian gunpowder are still to be seen, while at the other end of the city, in the cellar of a butcher's shop, it is possible to examine the lower portion of one of the towers, which, in 1651, flanked the Sidbury Gate, through which the defeated monarch (who had given evidence of sterling courage in the thick of the fighting) crept back beneath the wheels of an overturned ammunition waggon into the interior of the city. At the junction of the Corn Market and New Street still stands a portion of the ancient house occupied by the King either as a residence or as his military head-quarters,* and close to this can still be traced the

* See Historical Introduction, pp. 26-7.

The Royal Miracle

“clap-door” through which, about 6 p.m., he gained the open country. On the afternoon of September 2 Canon Wilson conducted the Carolean Pilgrims over Worcester Cathedral as only he can do it, while in the person of Mr. F. J. Spackman they found an ideal guide to the Fort Royal and other Carolean sites. Just outside Sidbury Gate there stood in 1651 the beautiful college or Commandery. It was there the gallant Duke of Hamilton, who now sleeps in a nameless grave beneath the northern end of the cathedral altar, was brought to die. The Commandery most providentially survived the “sighting” of 1651 with comparatively little damage. It is now owned by Mr. Joseph Littlebury, and there on September 2 (the 260th anniversary of the eve of Cromwell’s “crowning mercy”) many friends assembled to meet the Pilgrims, to listen to various papers read by Mr. J. W. Willis Bund and Mr. F. J. Spackman on the subject of the escape of the King on September 3, 1651, and to inspect a large collection of portraits, broadsides, badges, and medals relating to Charles’s flight from Worcester to the sea. It is to be hoped that Worcester will not neglect the opportunity of acquiring the Commandery as a Stuart or Carolean Museum until it is too late. It would certainly be appropriate if the anniversary of 1911 were marked by the erection of a brass near the last resting-place of the gallant nobleman who gave his life for his king in 1651.

In the early morning of September 3 (at the hour when Charles was looking down on his foes from the summit of Worcester tower), the Pilgrims set out on their travels “in the footsteps of the King.” Within an hour they halted at Lea Castle, where Mr. and Miss Brown-Westhead guided them through the woods traversed by the fugitives of 1651 on their way to Stourbridge and Whiteladies. At Whiteladies, in the ruins of the Norman chapel, and standing round the grave of the mother of the Five Faithful Brethren, “she whom the King did call Dame Joan,” the Pilgrims listened to a lucid explanation of the events of September 3–4, 1651, from Mr. James Penderel-Brodhurst, now a co-heir of the Penderel Pension, and can speak with authority on the story of his loyal ancestor the Miller of Whiteladies, honest Humphrey Penderel, whose *bon mot* about the horse having the “weight of three kingdoms on its back” is immortal. From Whiteladies Charles went on to Madeley (September 4), Evelith Mill, and Hobbal Grange, and September 6 found him at Boscobel, the scene of the famous adventure in the Royal Oak. To Boscobel (very little altered by the wear and tear of more than two and a half centuries) the nine Pilgrims were welcomed by Mrs. Brown, who has herself written and published an interesting little book on the subject of “the house in the wood.” The Pilgrims were indebted to the owner of Boscobel, the Rev. Canon Carr, for the special permission accorded to them to visit it on Sunday, September 3—the actual anniversary of Charles’s flight from Worcester to Whiteladies.

The Carolean Commemorative Pilgrimage

Some interesting reminiscences of Boscobel in September, 1651, were imparted to the visitors by the genial kinsman of Humphrey Penderel. From Boscobel an adjournment took place to the Angel, at Brewood, where the memory of the loyalists who fell that day 260 years outside the walls of Worcester was toasted in solemn silence after an excellent luncheon. The Pilgrims then retraced their steps to Tong in order to visit the beautiful church known as the Cathedral of the Western Midlands. Then came the royal hiding-places of Moseley (September 7, 1651) and Bentley (September 9). The ancient seat of the Lanes has been entirely rebuilt, but it was here that Jane Lane, the first of the four heroines of 1651 (Juliana Coningsby, Anne Wyndham, and Mary Hyde are the others), began to ride pillion behind the King, now supposed to be her servant or tenant's son, Will Jackson. At Bromsgrove the Pilgrims bade adieu to their Worcester guides and friends. Two hours later their day's journey of 111 miles ended at the Shakespeare Hotel, Stratford-on-Avon, near which town Charles must have passed on September 9-10, 1651.

Next morning, about 10 a.m., Long Marston was reached. "Old King Charles," or "King Charles's Lodge," is still the most famous house in the picturesque village. There the Pilgrims were welcomed by Mrs. Carrow, a lineal descendant of Mr. Tombs, the host of the royal fugitive of 1651. The broad, open fireplace of the old *kitchen (now a parlour) remains unchanged. Even the jack which so nearly led to the King's detection is still there. The hearth at Long Marston presented the same difficulties to Charles II as that of the Athelney cottage did centuries before to King Alfred. At Cirencester it was noted that the "Sun," the ancient inn famous by reason of Charles's sojourn within its walls, had been replaced by a modern successor. As Charles did on September 12, 1651, the Pilgrims of September 4, 1911, traversed the streets of royal and loyal Bristol from end to end. From their head-quarters at the Clifton Down Hotel they crossed the Suspension Bridge to visit Abbots Leigh House and Church. The old mansion occupied by Sir George Norton (Charles's host and preserver of September 12-15, 1651) has been replaced by a more modern structure on the same site, but in the chancel of the church close by is the handsome tomb and bust of this gallant son of Somerset, who died in April, 1675, and is described as "eminently loyal in hazarding both his life and fortune by concealing in his house the sacred person of our late Most Gracious Sovereign King Charles y^e Second till he could provide means for his escape into France." From Abbots Leigh the Pilgrims recrossed the river to Filton to visit the interesting works of the Bristol Aeroplane Company at the invitation of Sir George White, himself the owner of a valuable Carolean collection.

* See Historical Introduction, p. 36.

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On the morning of Tuesday, September 5, the Pilgrims, now 211 miles on their journey, took the road to the south, followed by Charles on September 15, 1651. Passing through Bruton, Castle Cary (where Charles slept on September 16), Sparkford, and Marston Magna, they entered Yeovil, leaving Trent Manor for a visit on the morrow. The lanes of the Dorset and Somerset border lands are peculiarly puzzling, and a wrong turn ended in the Daimler car making a record by crossing Hollis Hill with a gradient of one in three, and entering Broadwindsor (visited by Charles on September 23-24) a day before it was intended. Passing through the lovely vale of Marshwood, and obtaining delightful glimpses of some of the loveliest scenery in Devonshire, the "house in the hills" at Monkton Wyld (visited by Charles early on September 22, 1651) was reached. It is still known as Ellesdon's Farm. A quarter of an hour later a halt was made opposite the manse in Charmouth Street, in 1651 the "blind inn," kept by Mistress Margaret Wade, with the sign of the Queen's Arms. The adventures which there befell the fugitives have already been described. Close to Charmouth is Catherstone, to which the Pilgrims were cordially welcomed by Colonel and Mrs. Bullen. From the terraces of this beautiful house a full view is obtained of the shore from which (if it had not been for the untimely interference of Mrs. Stephen Limbry) Charles should have escaped to France during the night of September 22-23. The ancestral kinsman of Colonel Bullen, Colonel Bullen Reymes of Waddon, proved of essential service to the King in the most acute stage of the crisis of 1651. From Catherstone a move was made to Bridport, where the old-world shop of Messrs. Beach, formerly the George Inn, was visited. Then came Lee Lane, the scene on September 23, 1651, of the "Miraculous Divergence," a hair's-breadth escape almost as startling as that of the "Miraculous Preservation" of September 6, 1651, in the Royal Oak at Boscobel. A descent was made into Bradpole through Lee Lane, and the night was spent in the picturesque village, which, six weeks before, had been the scene of the successful West Dorset Pageant, with the romance of the "Miraculous Divergence" as its second episode.* At Bradpole, the first 306 miles of the journey were completed.

Early on Wednesday, September 6, Trent was reached. By the kindness of Mr. W. Peake-Mason both the church and manor were thoroughly examined. It was here that Colonel Frank Wyndham and his wife Anne, assisted by the Dowager Lady Wyndham, concealed the King between September 17 and September 22, and then from September 24 to October 6, 1651. In the Manor House chapel of this interesting church (the bells of which Charles listened to while ringing merry peals in honour of his defeat at Worcester) are the graves of his intrepid preservers Francis and Anne Wyndham, who both lived to share in the honours and rewards

* See *ante*, pp. 268-72.

The Carolean Commemorative Pilgrimage

of the Restoration. Through Wincanton the Pilgrims drove on to Mere, halting at the "Talbot" (the "George" in 1651) to lunch, probably in the very room where Charles refreshed himself while travelling from Trent to Heale House on Salisbury Plain. The "Talbot" now belongs to the Chaffyns, a family closely associated with the stirring events of 260 years ago. It is a most interesting house, preserving most of its seventeenth-century features, including the fine spits, pronounced by the antiquarian expert of the pilgrimage to be "undoubtedly Carolean." Within two hours of leaving Mere the Pilgrims reached the "George" at Amesbury, a hostelry which was already four centuries old when "Duchess" Kitty and her husband offered the author of the "Beggar's Opera" the hospitality of Amesbury House. From Amesbury a visit was paid to Heale House, where Charles and Lord Wilmot were concealed from October 6 to 15, 1651, by Mrs. Hyde. It is now being admirably rebuilt by its present possessor, the Hon. Louis Greville, under the direction of Mr. Detmar Blow, of King's Bench Walk, an expert in the domestic architecture of the seventeenth century. Scarcely anything remains of the original structure, but the position of the King's reputed "hiding-hole" can still be indicated. It was at Heale House, on the banks of the Avon, that Samuel Johnson was a frequent visitor to the then owner, Mr. Bowles. In the possession of the present writer is the page of his diary containing his impressions of Stonehenge and Heale House in the year preceding his death. To his host at Heale he wrote after his return to London a long letter, stating that he had (in 1783) "subscribed to a ballooning scheme," the object of which was "the exploration of regions hitherto unknown."

Charles II visited Stonehenge during his stay at Heale House, and there conferred with his adherents who were planning his escape at Salisbury. He afterwards declared he had succeeded in counting the stones, by tradition an impossibility. The Pilgrims of 1911 also examined Stonehenge, and in its immediate neighbourhood witnessed some successful flights carried out on British biplanes and monoplanes by Messrs. Henri M. Jullerot, Pierre Prier, H. Bastide, Graham Gilmour, H. Pixon, and R. F. Wheeler, a naval cadet of sixteen, who won his certificate as a flyer. On this occasion the antiquarian and topographical experts of the Pilgrims enjoyed their first experience of aerial flight—a development in transit dreamed of evidently by Johnson, but probably totally unforeseen by the fugitive sovereign of 1651.

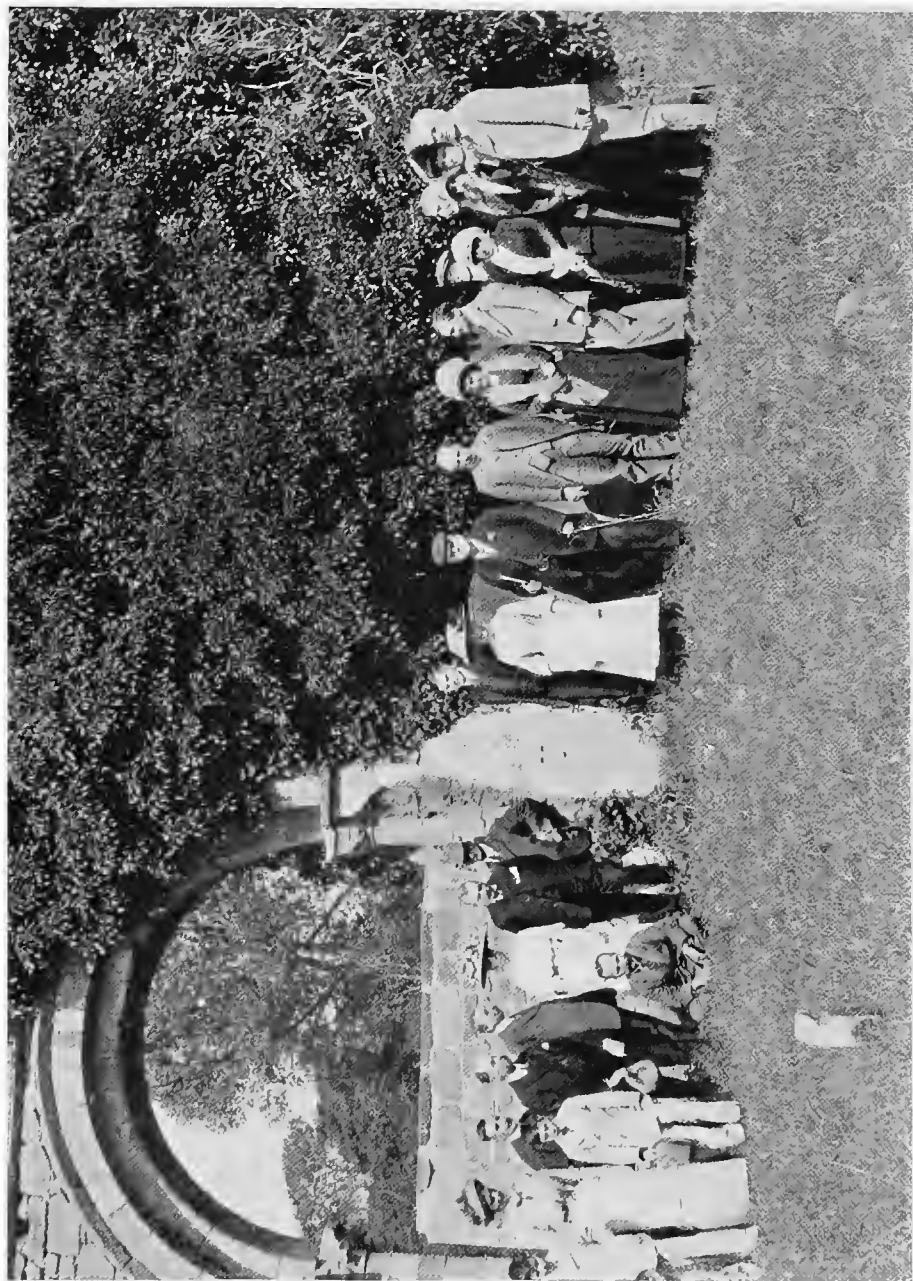
At Salisbury, after visiting the cathedral, one of the prebendaries of which, Humphrey Henchman (after the Restoration Bishop of Salisbury and London), took an important part in planning the escape of Charles in October, 1651, under the guidance of Mr. G. Fremantle, a halt was made before the King's Arms, just outside the close, where most of the preliminaries connected with the preservation

The Royal Miracle

of the King were arranged. At 1 p.m. on Thursday, September 7th, the Pilgrims lunched at another old-world hostelry, the "George," at Warnford, patronised by the King on his way from Heale House, in Wilts, to Hambleton House, in Hants, towards evening on October 13th, 1651. Hambleton is one of the most interesting as well as the most authentic of the Royal hiding-places of 1651. Between Salisbury and Warnford they passed through Winchester and Romsey. From Warnford they proceeded to Hambledon, and so on to the "Dolphin" at Chichester.

It is practically certain that Charles did not visit Racton, the residence of Colonel Gunter, whose rôle in the successful escape near Shoreham of October 15, 1651, was as important as that of Colonel Wyndham, of Trent, in the frustrated attempt at Charmouth on the previous September 22-3. It was, however, at Chichester that resided Mr. Francis Mansel, the French merchant, who acted as intermediary between Gunter and Nicholas Tetterzell. On arriving at Chichester the Pilgrims had completed a total run of 487 miles since leaving the Foregate at Worcester. They were welcomed to the fifth cathedral city in their itinerary through ten counties by Mr. F. J. W. Crowe, to whom they are indebted for a visit to the Hospital of St. Mary, of which the courteous Custos is Canon Masters. In this ancient hospital, founded in the reign of Henry II, King Edward VII took the greatest interest. It abounds in quaint and curious features, including some beautiful misereres. To find its counterpart one must travel as far as Nuremberg.

On the morning of September 8 the Pilgrims visited the cathedral under the guidance of Prebendary Fraser. In the morning service several compositions of the composers William and Philip Hayes were admirably interpreted under the direction of Mr. Crowe, the cathedral organist. A start was made at 11.15 a.m., and before arriving at Brighton a halt was made at Southwick Green to see the romantic cottage in which it is probable Charles spent a short time while waiting for the tide in the early morning of October 15, although the allegation that he slept there cannot be for a moment maintained. At 1.10 p.m. the Old Ship Hotel was reached at Brighton, and the commemorative pilgrimage ended at the door of the well-known house which belonged in the seventeenth century to Nicholas Tetterzell, the captain of the "Surprise" on which Charles escaped (probably from Southwick Creek) to Fécamp. The total distance covered by the two cars without accident or puncture was exactly 519 miles. During five days out of the six the heat was abnormal. The arrangements made at Brighton by Mr. H. D. Roberts, Director of the Public Library, Museum and Permanent Art Gallery were admirable. At 5 p.m. an official welcome was accorded to the Pilgrims by the Deputy Mayor, Mr. A. E. Geere, whose ancestors are said to have intermarried with the Tetterzells. The relics exhibited at Worcester (and which, like the Pilgrims, had travelled over 500 miles) were again shown and papers were read



THE CAROLEAN PILGRIMS AT WHITE LADIES, SEPTEMBER 3, 1911

(From a photograph by Max Fischer, Worcester)

The Carolean Commemorative Pilgrimage

and addresses delivered. Some interesting remarks were made in commendation of the historical pilgrimage idea by Mr. Charles Thomas-Stanford, F.S.A., the Mayor, who in 1894 had edited an edition of the Boscobel Tracts, and Mr. Horace Round, who represents the senior branch of the Wilmots (Lord Wilmot, the first Earl of Rochester, escaped to France with Charles from the "George" at Brighton in October, 1651), who pronounced the collection of Carolean literature and medals relating to the flight of the King then exhibited to be the finest in existence. On Saturday morning visits were paid to the rival sites of the 1651 "George" (of which not a trace remains) in Middle Street and West Street. The former is now covered by the Hippodrome, a poster setting forth the attractions of which was exhibited at the entrance of the modern "King's Arms" in West-street. Upon the fine altar-tomb of the stout-hearted Tetttersells outside the chancel of St. Nicholas's Church was placed a wreath of sea lavender, not an altogether inappropriate tribute to the memory of the captain of the "Surprise" and his loyal spouse, who (unlike Mrs. Limbry, of Charmouth) urged her husband to save the King at all risks, and hoped (but vainly) "to die a countess." The charming hospitality of Preston Manor is not likely to be soon forgotten by those who share in it. The Mayoress of Brighton (Mrs. Charles Thomas-Stanford) is in many ways associated with the romances of Stuart history, and her husband is a successful writer as well as a judicious and energetic collector. It was probably through Preston Park that Charles descended from the Sussex uplands to his haven of safety at the "George" after dusk on the evening of Tuesday, October 14, 1651. Within three hours of leaving Preston Park the Pilgrims reached their London head-quarters at the St. James's Palace Hotel, in Bury Street. In the evening a farewell dinner was held at the Pall Mall Restaurant, occupying to-day the site of the Little Theatre, in the Haymarket, where Aston's "Royal Oak" comic opera was sternly forbidden to be played in 1732, and Dimond's melodrama bearing the same name was loudly applauded in 1811. A crown of oak-leaves from Lee Lane (the scene of the "Miraculous Divergence") was placed in the centre of the table, flanked by the mammoth Carolean spits from the "George" at Mere. The appropriate bill of fare was Carolean in language, if Parisian in its conception.

The following are the names of the commemorative pilgrims who left Worcester at 2 a.m. on September 3, 1911, and arrived at Brighton at 1 p.m. on September 8, 1911: Alfred Brewis, Sophie Brewis, W. Parker Brewis, F.S.A. (Newcastle), A. M. Broadley (Bridport), Richard Wilson, J.P., Annie W. Wilson (Leeds), Thomas M. Woodhead, Clara Woodhead, and Beatrice Woodhead (Bradford, Yorkshire).

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APPENDIX VIII

The Alfords, Ellesdons, Wesleys and
Limbrys of Lyme and Charmouth

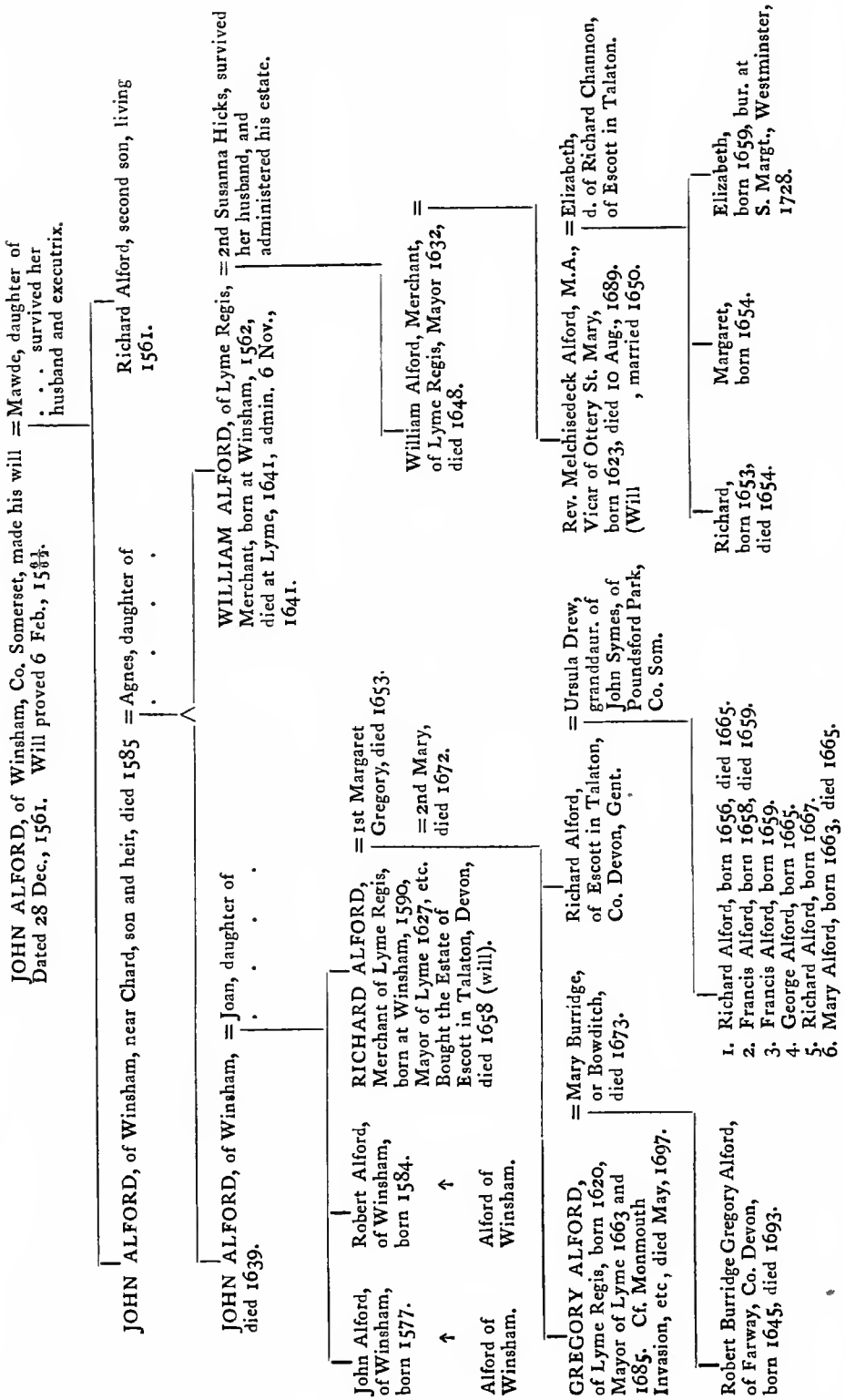
THE ALFORDS, ELLESDONS, WESLEYS AND LIMBRY'S OF LYME AND CHARMOUTH

THE voluminous MS. notes of George Roberts (1804-1860), the painstaking historian of Lyme Regis and biographer of the Duke of Monmouth, having come unexpectedly into my possession since the compilation of the greater part of this volume, I am able to add some new and valuable information as to the persons whose names figure conspicuously in the *Miraculum Basilikon* and other tracts in connection with Charles II's adventures of September 22-23, 1651. The Rev. R. Grosvenor Bartelot, Vicar of St. George's, Fordington, Dorchester, informs me that the Alfords of Lyme, etc., are so named after the village of Alford in Somerset. They have been connected with West Dorset since 1339, for it appears from an ancient deed, preserved in the Bridport borough muniments, that Robert Alford, of Yeovil, owned a house in West Street, Bridport, which he purchased on September 26 of that year. John Alford, of Bridport, is mentioned in a borough deed dated September 29, 1485. His son, John Alford, was Bailiff of Bridport 1548, and M.P. 1553. He died in 1562. By his will, dated May 15 and proved November 2, 1562, he bequeathed lands in Bridport, Loders, and Symondsbury to his wife Edith, his sons William and Richard, and his daughters Juliana and Mary. His son and heir William, by his will (dated May 18, 1588), bequeathed lands in Bridport and Bradpole to his sons John, Andrew, Christopher, Leonard, and William. His son and heir John Alford, by his will (dated November 2, 1609), bequeathed his lands in Bridport, Botterhampton, Loders, and Bradpole to his four daughters. From his brothers descend the Alfords of Bridport and Chideock. Their tombs are to be seen on the floor beneath the tower of St. Mary's, Bridport. Another branch of the family settled over the Somerset border at Winsham. Gregory Alford, Mayor of Lyme Regis in 1663 and 1685 (the year of Monmouth's Rebellion), is probably descended from this stock :

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PEDIGREE OF THE FAMILY OF ALFORD OF LYME REGIS AND WINSHAM

(From the MSS. of R. G. Bartelot.)



The Alford, Ellesdons, Wesleys, Limbrys

On October 25, 1661, Gregory Alford signed a receipt for money disbursed in providing the town-column. During the previous year he had been "presented" for having made a dung-mixen in the street before his house. During his first mayoralty (1663) he expended 16s. on cakes consumed at the election of Mr. Walter Tucker. In July, 1671, it seems that Charles II revisited the scene of his adventures in the autumn of 1651. Roberts makes the following note after examining the exceptionally rich archives of Lyme Regis, of which town, like Alford himself, he was twice Mayor :—

"King Charles being about to pass through Charmouth on July 2 1671 a party at the head of which was our well known townsman Cap: Gregory Alford went forth to meet his Majesty. The time when the King would pass being probably uncertain Mr. Tho^s Clarke supplied some refreshments.

	s
7lbs fine biscuits	1
14lbs do at	1 6
12 ^s /- per cwt	
2 sixpenny loaves	1
	<hr style="width: 10%; margin: 0 auto;"/>
	3 6

To which may be added a cheese 2^s/- & a bottle of brandy. A barrel of strong beer 18^s/- is charged & 2^s/- for firing the guns when in sight of Lyme. The road or lane followed by his Majesty was that over Stone-barrow hill which is now to be seen in a straight line with the turnpike road leading up the hill by the eastermost Charmouth bridge."

Under date of July 24 a charge is made for the ringing of the Axminster bells on the occasion of King Charles going through the town. In the years 1681-2 and 3 Alford showed much energy in the persecution of Dissenters. He addressed certain letters on the subject which are to be found in Sir Leoline Jenkins's correspondence. They betray a strong animosity towards his fellow-citizen William Ellesdon, of Charmouth, which possibly explains the tone of his letter on the subject of the events of 1651 now reprinted.* He accuses Ellesdon of conniving at the proceedings of the conventicle-preachers. On February 18, 168½, Ellesdon writes in his defence that :

"he has no power in Lyme & is not a magistrate of the borough, He lives at Charmouth 1½ miles away, but is willing to execute the laws against dissenters. He goes on to say that Captn Gregory Alford did read his letter to every person

* See *ante*, pp. 189-93.

The Royal Miracle

he did meet withal in the street, to men, women & children, by which means, having notice of it, did avoid their apprehension (some mens zeal runs before their wit & discretion which prevents execution) He wishes for an order to arrest John Brice a conventicle preacher. He has no jurisdiction in Lyme."

More than a year later William Ellesdon was still living, for on July 7, 1683, the Bishop of Bristol complains of his "discouraging the King's informations against unlawful conventicle meetings," alleging that "he refused to give to the poor of the parish, & gave always to every preacher that was convicted." Ellesdon at this time was over sixty. He was born in 1620 and married about 1640, when he purchased the manor of Charmouth. On August 5, 1689, his heirs petitioned the House of Commons for the payment of the arrears due of the pension granted him on account of the assistance he gave King Charles in 1651, on the sincerity of which Alford endeavoured to throw doubt. A similar petition figures in the journals of the House of Lords.

The Lyme archives put the identity of Bartholomew Wesley, the "intrad-ing Minister" at Charmouth in September, 1651, beyond the possibility of a doubt. Bartholomew Wesley *clericus* was a freeholder of the borough, and on 6 May, 1668, ordered to pay an *essoyn* or fine. This is duly entered in the *Liber Liberorum Burgensium*, etc. John Wesley, his son (the grandfather of the Apostle of Methodism), was admitted to the freedom of the borough in 1647. In 1654 he was rated at 4d. and charged 1s. 6d. "for his Preacher's office." We find that Capt. Massey, who commanded the military forces at Lyme in September, 1651, "put half a musket charge upon the Rev: Ames Short, amounting to 17^s," which the Corporation allowed their minister and lecturer. A Thomas Limbry was a freeman of Lyme in the twenty-ninth year of Henry VI. According to the Cobb account books, Stephen Limbry had given up going to sea before 1653. Between 1653 and 1656 his name appears amongst those of the "importers and sellers of wine."

A. M. B.

Charles

We do acknowledge to have received the sum of -
three hundred pound from
which he hath sent to us very seasonably, when our
occasions exceedingly stood in need of it, & we receive
it as a singular testimony of his affection to us, &
doe promise to repay the same as soon as God shall
enable us, & shall alwayes remember & acknowledge
the obligation to him & to his Relations. Given at our
Court at Antwerp the 19th of February 1638.
in the tenth year of our Reigne.

PROMISSORY NOTE SIGNED AND SEALED BY CHARLES II DURING HIS EXILE
(In the collection of the writer)

APPENDIX IX

The Earliest Parliamentary Account of the Battle of Worcester*

* At the moment this book was going to press I obtained through Mr. Barnard, of Tunbridge Wells, what is evidently the first account published in London of the defeat of the Royalists at Worcester.

A. M. B.

May 7, 1912.

THE EARLIEST PARLIAMENTARIAN ACCOUNT OF
THE BATTLE OF WORCESTER

A full & perfect
RELATION
of the great & bloody fight
AT WORCESTER
on
WEDNESDAY
Night Last

Being the 3, of Septemb. 1651 between the Parliaments Forces & the King of
Scots. With the true particulars thereof, and the manner of the Fight
shewing

How *Charles Stuart* (their Captain Gen) & Major Gen Massey charged in the
Van, and his Excellency the Lord General *Cromwell* in person against them.

TOGETHER

with the taking or killing of the said *Charles Stuart*. As also the manner
of the total routing of 18,000 Horse & Foot, the taking of the City of
Worcester, towards *Wales*. And a perfect

List of the Lords, Knights, Colonels,
and other Officers & private Soul—
—diers killed & taken on
both sides

Brought from the Army by the last Post & published for general satisfacti-
on both to City & Country

London. Printed for George Horton 1651.

The Royal Miracle

A true & punctuall Relation of the Great Victory obtained by the Parliaments forces against the King of Scots & his adherents.

Sir

Upon Wednesday last about three of the clock in the afternoon his Excell: the L. G. Cromwell gave command (the two bridges being finished with boats & other timber, over the River of Siverne & Team) that the whole Army of horse & foot should be drawn out in a Regimental way to fight the enemy, whose Army consisted of about 18000. horse & foot, and accordingly it were so resolved upon by his Excellency & the Counsell of Officers, that the first attempt should be made with the right wing to passe the river Siverne over the Bridge, which with great gallantry & resoluteness of spirit, were put in execution, & as heroickly brought to perfection, for after a sharp dispute, the enemy retreated, our men pursued, killing about 500 & taking divers prisoners: During which conflict the left wing attempted a pass, but it proved unfeasible & difficult, so that after a short time, Major Gen Lambert was inforced with the said right wing to attempt a strong passe over the river Teame, which after an hours dispute, it pleased God to make him successefull in, but the worke proved very difficult at the Bridge, for Major Gen Masseys men maintained it very stoutly, repelling our Forces at the first, but upon their rallying & giving the second onset, they became victorious, killed divers, took many prisoners, & pursued the rest to the very wall of the City. In the meantime each Regiment in the Army were ingaged against the enemy & exceeding vehement was the conflict. For after we had chased the Highlanders, and other of the English regiments in at one end of the City; they furiously broke out at another, and set upon our forces on the North side of the City, forcing them to a retreat; and upon an immediate rallying about, and after 5 or 6 volleys, they beat them in to the town, and pursued them almost to the Minster-walls, where the enemy took sanctuary, not daring to maintain the fight any longer; so that after four hours dispute both fierce & violent, the enemy were totally routed, 5000. slaine upon the place, 2000. taken prisoners, with the losse of Quartermaster-Gen. Moseley; whose gallantry & deportment serves as a sufficient testimony to spread his fame all *Europe* over, the losse of our Infantry is not yet known, but we hope that it doth not extend too high; yet thus much may be said, that never did the Kings Foot stand so firmly, and so many shocks as these did, for after they had given our men a rebuke at Team bridge, the *Generall* himself led on two Regiments of Foot & a Regiment of Horse, and charged in the Van of them, who after the first volley, pressing in upon them, they all retreated, his Excellency pursued, and beat them in to the

Account of the Battle of Worcester

very Town, and took divers prisoners at the very gates; amongst the rest, it is said, that Col. *Douglas* is taken, and divers others of quality; a List whereof I have sent you here inclosed viz

A List of the Prisoners killed and
taken at the great fight at
Worcester

Slain
The Lord Craiston
The Lord Hames
Lord Lanerick
5000 other Officers
& private Souldiers

Taken Prisoners
Earl of Derby
Lord Howard
Col. Humes
Col. Douglas
And 2000 other
Officers & Souldiers,
8000 Arms, Muskets,
Pikes, & other brave
Artillery

Most of the Foot that are escaped have betaken themselves to the Minster, the Cloisters, & other strong Houses adjacent. Massey is said to be escaped with 3000 Horse over Mowburn Hills towards Wales; others report that he is slain, and further that *Charles Stuart* their Cap. Gen. is either killed or taken prisoner; for it is observable, that upon their first advancing towards us in battel array he led the Van of the Horse, charged both with Pistol & Sword, and there received a wound; but by our best intelligence, was dismounted, & either slain upon the place or taken prisoner. Before the next I hope to give you a perfect account of the whole business in the meantime I remain

Team-Bridge near
Worcester Sept
4 at one of the
Clock in the morning

Your obliged friend
Sam Wharton

POSTSCRIPT

SIR

Upon the close of this Letter, the Fight ended & the Generall, with Major Generall Lambert, came into the North streets where our men have full possession, & the enemy much straitened and begirt up in the Cathedral places adjoyning. But by reason of the Posts hesty expedition, I am forced to contract, bidding you

Vale, Vale

APPENDIX X

Bibliography

of Printed Matter dealing with the Escape of Charles II
after the Battle of Worcester

BIBLIOGRAPHY of printed matter dealing with the miraculous preservation of his Sacred Majesty King Charles II after the defeat of his army on the field of Worcester, September 3rd to October 15th, 1651, when he left for France.

PART I. Volumes and Pamphlets.

PART II. Broad sides and Ballads.

PART III. Miscellaneous. (Periodical publications, Plays, Romances, etc.)

The Abbreviations { B. Signifies Broadley Collection.
Bod. Bodleian.
B.M. British Museum.

Books are catalogued as much as possible under *Subject* with cross references from Author.

Anonymous and contemporary accounts, and modern works containing references to the escape, but not entirely devoted to the subject, are under the general heading of Charles II, King of Great Britain and Ireland.

PART I

VOLUMES AND PAMPHLETS

AIRY, OSMUND See Charles II, King of Great Britain and Ireland.

AN ACCOUNT, Etc. See His Majesty's Account.

ALFORD, CAPTAIN

"Narrative" in Cary's Memorials of the Great Civil War
London. 1842

BATE, G. M. D. See Charles II, King of Great Britain and Ireland.

BOSCOBEL

BOSCOBEL, or the History of his Most Sacred Majesty's Most Miraculous Preservation after the Battle of Worcester 3rd Sep: 1651. By Blount. 12°. pp. 55. Printed for H. Seile, Stationer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty. (Probably published in August 1660) with three plates added 1660 B.

The Royal Miracle

- BOSCOBEL—DITTO DITTO Bod. B.M.
- ANOTHER EDITION. Boscobel, or the History of His Sacred Majesty's Most Miraculous Preservation after the Battle of Worcester 3rd September 1651. Introduced by an exact relation of that Battle by T. Blount. Printed by Henry Seile, Stationer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty. With two plates 1660 B.
- ANOTHER COPY with two additional portraits B.M.
- ANOTHER COPY B.
- ANOTHER COPY with portrait and engraving of Boscobel by Van de Gucht added B.
- ANOTHER COPY, Boscobel plate mutilated B.M.
- ANOTHER COPY, imperfect B.M.
- ANOTHER COPY with later portrait added B.
- ANOTHER COPY, portrait inserted and Print of Carlos arms: imperfect* B.
- (Reprints of the first Edition of 1660 were published at Doncaster 1809 and at Wellington, Salop, 1822). B. B.M.
- There was a privately issued Edition limited to 1,000 copies at Edinburgh, 1887 B.
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* The King's own copy of Boscobel (described as 1660, 8vo) was sold at Sotheby's to Mr. Quaritch for £14 15s. od. on July 2nd, 1896. It was bound in blue morocco, with the Royal Monogram, and came from the library of the late Sir E. Bunbury, of Barton Hall, Bury St. Edmunds, Bart.

† Hughes says Boscobel was translated into Portuguese at the desire of Queen Catherine. "Mr. Peter Gifford of Whiteladies has lately made it speak Portuguese." See Hughes' preface to the Second Part.

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- ANOTHER COPY with a print of Boscobel House B.M.
- ANOTHER EDITION with the misprint of April 3rd for September 3rd. 12^{mo}. pp. 192. Printed for M. Cooper, the Globe, Paternoster Row 1743 B. B.M.
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- ANOTHER IMPRESSION with misprint uncorrected. Printed and sold by all booksellers, etc. Described as the fifth Edition 1748 B.
- ANOTHER EDITION with plan of Worcester and a view of Boscobel House. Printed by S. Gamidge 1769 Bod.
- DITTO with Autograph of Martha Penderel B.
- ANOTHER COPY with plate of the flight of Charles attended by the Penderels added B.
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* There are two issues of *A True Narrative*, etc., which though apparently identical differ on page 4, paragraph 3. The earlier issue has it: "then William came with a pair of shears and rounded the King's hair." The later issue reads: "then Richard came with a pair," etc. The succeeding paragraph in the earlier tract reads: "Hereupon Richard Pendrill." For "Richard" "William" is substituted in the later tract. There is also a small quarto of eighteen pages, the text of which follows the later issue of above, entitled: "An Exact Narrative and Relation of His Most Sacred Majesty's Escape from Worcester on the third of September 1651 till his arrival at Paris. London. Printed for G. Colboun. 1660."

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pp. 42, 8vo. 1883

This account is printed in Hughes' *Boscobel Tracts*,
Fea's *After Worcester Fight*, Bohn's issue of *Grammont's*
Memoirs, 1846.*

* A copy of the King's account inlaid to large folio size and extra illustrated with
78 portraits, views, and plans was sold at Sotheby's, December, 1903, for £7. Somewhat
later, Messrs. Puttick & Simpson sold an inlaid folio atlas, e.i., Glasgow ed., for £15 15s. od.
Possibly the same book.

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(After the engraving by Frederick de Wilt in the British Museum)

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London 1660 B.

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A Summary of Occurrences relating to the miraculous Preservation of our late Sovereign Lord King Charles II after the defeat of his Army at Worcester in the year 1651. Faithfully taken from the express personal Testimony of those two worthy Roman Catholics, Thomas Whitgrave of Moseley in the County of Stafford, Esq., and Mr. John Huddleston, Priest of the Holy Order of St. Bennet, the eminent instrument under God of the same preservation. *Permissus Superiorum*. London. Printed by Henry Hills, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty for his Household and Chappel. And as sold at his printing house on the Ditch Side in Black Friars 1688. pp. 34. 12^{mo}. Reprinted in Vol. II of the English Catholic Library, London, 1844. In Hughes' *Boscobel Tracts*. Also in *Retrospective Review*, XIV, 47, and *The Flight of the King*, Tract VI. See Part III, Plays Bod. B.M.

WYNDHAM, ANNE. See *Clastrum Regale*.

* These are the only two copies known.

† i.e. so it is stated in the catalogue, but the engraving appears to have been originally issued with the book. The pagination is inaccurate. See reproduction facing page 51.

The Royal Miracle

PART II

I. *BROADSIDES, ETC.*

- CAROLI SECONDI Regus Magne Britanniae als Jhn Gott von
Seiner Feindachen Unterhamen sic Hared in Franckreich
brachte etc. pp. 8. 8^{vo} . . . Amsterdam 1651 B.M.
A poem in archaic German.
- HIS MAJESTY'S MIRACULOUS PRESERVATION BY THE OAK, THE
MAID AND SHIP, (a poem) by John Crouch. Lutt. Col-
lection, Vol. II B.M.
- HISTORY OF HIS SACRED MAJESTY'S MOST WONDERFUL PRESER-
VATION after the Battle of Worcester. With a true Relation
of Colonel George Gunter's conveying his Majesty from
Salisbury to Brighthemstead in Sussex, where he took shipping.
London. Printed and are to be sold by Joseph Blacklock at
the Turk's Head in Ivy Lane, and Mr. Nuchaell in West-
minster Hall. Single sheet folio broadside, 1 ft. 8½ in. by
13 in., with four copper-plate illustrations. Worcester. In the
Oak. Jane Lane and his Majesty. Setting sail.* Sm 4^o
1660 B.
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- LAST NEWS FROM FRANCE (THE) Being a true relation of the
escape of the King of Scots from Worcester to London, and
from London to France who was conveyed away by a young
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attending on this supposed gentlewoman in manner of a
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- LIST OF EDITIONS OF THE BOSCOBEL TRACTS. By F. Manning.
Single sheet 4^o. Leamington, 1861
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GENERALS . . . AND COLONELS OF THE SCOTS KING'S
PARTY slaine and taken prisoners (at and after) the battle of
Worcester. Broadside London 1652 B.M.

* Sold at the Mawdesley sale for £7 7s. od. Note by Mr. Mawdesley : " Mine is the only copy I ever heard of."



CAROLVS II DEI GRATIA MAGNÆ BRITANNIÆ,
FRANCIÆ ET HIBERNIÆ REX.

DUTCH PORTRAIT OF CHARLES II CIR. 1650
(Engraved by Danckers after Hanneman. In the collection of the writer)

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*. For fear the Legitimists would draw a parallel?

† A pageant was produced at Brighton in the autumn of 1910. One scene was devoted to the King at the George Inn. At the West Dorset Pageant, 1911, the King's escape through Lee Lane was given as the second episode.

† Mrs. Oliphant brought out a novel called *Whiteladies*, but it is a tale of modern life.



CAROLVS SECVNDVS DEI GRATIA MAGNÆ
BRITANIÆ, FRANCIÆ, ET HIBERNIÆ REX etc.

Charles the second by the grace of God of greate.
Brittanie, France, and Yreland King etc

*Charles de seconde des grande prince de Groot Britanien, Franckrick.
en Yrelandt.*

DUTCH PORTRAIT OF CHARLES II IN 1650-51

(From the original in the British Museum)

APPENDIX XI

Iconography

Published Portraits of Charles the Second in 1649-1651

Published Portraits of King Charles II contemporary with the battle of Worcester. The arrangement is alphabetical according to artist. In the second column is given the name of the engraver; in the third the whereabouts of the print. As in Bibliography: B. (Broadley), Bod. (Bodleian), B.M. (British Museum). The abbreviations H. (head), H.L. (half length), T.Q.L. and W.L. (three quarter and whole lengths); l. (looking left) and r. (looking right), as used in the British Museum Catalogue, have been adopted.

	Artist.	Engraver.	Location.
1. CAROLUS II. Dei gratiæ Magnæ Britaniæ Franciæ et Hiberniæ Rex. In armour H. l. .	Anon.	Anon.	B.
2. CAROLUS II. (inscribed on balus- trade); lace collar H. r. .	Anon.	Hollar.	B. B.M.
3. CHARLES 2ND. Garter robes; delicate lace scarf. Clean shaven H. r. . . .	Anon.	G. Scott.	Bod.
4. CAROLVS SECUNDVS D.G. Magnæ Britanniæ Francæ et Hiberniæ Rex; plain coat; plain collar, ribbon and star; escutcheon of Arms. H. l. Dated 1650 .	Anon.	Hollar.	Bod.
5. CAROLUS STUART II. König in Engleland Schotland und Ire- land, in armour. An oval in a square. H.L. r. . . .	Anon.	Anon.	Bod.
6. IN CLOAK and star, a crown sus- pended above his head, <i>Honi soit qui mal y pense</i> . Dated 1650	Anon.	Valigius.	Bod.
7. ON HORSEBACK in armour, with truncheon. Three crowns above in one of thorns. French verses. F.L. r. Two versions	Anon.	Anon.	Bod.
8. CHARLES II. crowned King of Scotland, January, 1651. Plain broad collar and black coat. George and Garter badge. H.L. r. From Gadbury's <i>Nativity</i>	Anon.	Mason.	B.

The Royal Miracle

	Artist.	Engraver.	Location.
9. ANOTHER VERSION. Octagonal fancy frame of oak leaves, oblong French inscription .	Anon.	Moncomet.	B.M.
10. MOUNTED, clean-shaven, in armour, a morion in air displaying shield with arms of England only. Sea-shore, ships, skirmish progressing. Inscription in French stating that after Worcester he was obliged to return to the court of the King, his cousin-german (Louis XIV). F.L. r.	Anon.	Moncomet.	Bod. B.M.
11. IN ARMOUR, symbolical figures. Ireland kneeling, Scotland presenting pistol. Execution of King in background . . .	Anon.	Anon.	Bod.
12. DITTO. Background altered. Dutch inscription	Anon.	Anon.	Bod.
13. ANOTHER VERSION	Anon.	Anon.	Bod.
14. NATUS MAY 29 AN ^o 1630 Ætissuæ 19. Dark coat, white collar with George; table on right containing crown of thorns enclosing three crowns with the rose, thistle, and harp under them respectively. Oval. H.L.	Anon.	Anon.	Bod.
DITTO, reversed	Anon.	Anon.	Bod.
15. CHARLES II crowned King of Scotland, January 1, 1651. In armour, with George; heavy curtain; left hand corner crown of laurels, right hand escutcheon. H.L. r.	Anon.	Gaywood.	Bod. B.M.
16. NO INSCRIPTION; handsome costume; hat with drooping feathers. Matchlock in right hand. Army in background. F.L. r.	Anon.	Glover.	Bod.

Iconography

	Artist.	Engraver.	Location.
17. CHARLES ye 2 ^d Proclaimed King of Gt Britain etc. Worcester, 23rd Aug. 1651. Scarf. l. .	Boocock.	Faithorne.	B. B.M.
18. REDIVIO PHENICI, etc., in armour, attended by symbolic figures; sun rising in background. Phoenix on the top of a mountain. H.L.* . . .	Diepenbeeck.	Hollar.	B. B.M.
19. IN ARMOUR, with sash and truncheon. Sun rising. Fame crowning him. F.L. l. .	Diepenbeeck.		Bod.
20. AS A CHILD; left hand holds stick; right, hat; curtain and view of Whitehall. Dated 1649; probably largely circulated then. T.Q.L. l.	van Dyck.	Hollar.	
Four states			Bod. B.M.
with Latin inscription			B.
DITTO, without Hollar's name . .			B.M.
DITTO, oval head only			B.M.
21. CAROLUS DE TWEEDE. Jampot hat and feather; armour. British Museum Cat. says "wrongfully attributed" to	Van Dyck.	Meurs.	
Three versions of above			Bod.
Two versions			B.M.
head only in oval			B.M.
22. WITH BREASTPLATE, scarf, and brocaded sleeves, r.	Hanneman.		
T.Q.L. of above		Cooper.	B.M.
H.L. in oval		Dankes.	B. B.M.
Engraving of the miniature by S. Cooper, copied from above .		R. Cooper.	B.M.
Reversed		Gaywood.	Bod. B.M.
Ditto		Anon.	B.M.
23. CAROLUS SECUNDUS DEI GRATIA, etc. Small oval; draped curtain; crown on pedestal . . .	Hock.	Boulak.	B.M.

* Catalogued at B.M. under Hollar.

The Royal Miracle

	Artist.	Engraver.	Location.
24. HEAD, pub. by Thane. Armour	Hock.	Anon.	B. B.M.
25. CAROLUS SECUNDUS DEI GRATIA, etc. Published at Brussels, 1649. Full face; buttoned surtout. Oval surrounded by emblems: crown, crossed swords and sceptre, laurel and bay.	Hock.	Steen.	B. B.M.
26. CAROLUS II, Mag. Brit. etc. Oval. Armour; clean-shaven. Own hair. H. l.	Honthurst.	Visscher. Browner.	Bod. B.M. B.M.
DITTO, in rich border			
27. KAREL DE II, Koning Van Eng- land Schotland en Yrland; mounted with rich trappings; shipping in background. Garter, star inaccurate. Signed		C.D.	B.M. B.M. B.M.
DITTO, unsigned			
DITTO, with heath as background			
28. LATIN INSCRIPTION, three verses. In armour, standing on pedestal, crowned by Jupiter and pro- tected by Minerva* F.L. l. .	Schut.	Hollar.	B. B.M. B.M.
DITTO, Proof before letters* .			

MISCELLANEA

Escaping with Jane Lane behind him on a pillion	Gucht.	B. Bod. B.M.
Revealing himself to the Wynd- ham family	Knight.	Bod.

* Catalogued at B.M. under Hollar.

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The Royal Miracle

had been planted in London. This called forth a shower of epigrams such as

"The Royal Sapling Oak"

“ Whilst Sarah from the royal ground,
Roots up the royal oak,
The sapling, groaning from the wound,
Thus to the siren spoke ;
‘ Ah ! may the omen kindly fail,
For poor Britannia’s good ;
Or else not only me you fell,
But *her*, who owns the wood.’ ”

A second began thus :—

“Be cautious, madame, how you thus provoke
That sturdy plant, the second royal oak ;
For should you fell it, or remove it hence,
When dead it may revenge the vile offence.”

The third and the severest of all opens thus :—

“Why dost thou root me up, ungrateful hand?
My father saved the king who saved the land.”

And ends,

“As my tall parent, when he bravely stood
The monarch’s safeguard in the trembling wood,
I know not which would prove the next good thing,
To hang up traitors, or preserve a king.”

In treating of this incident Miss Strickland says :—*

“The English people have always been passionately fond of the historical circumstance of their king’s preservation in their national tree. To this hour, there is not a town in England, and scarcely a village, but bears some memorial of ‘the royal oak’ in the only pictorial indication that pertains to the people, which is, alas! but in the signs of their drinking-houses. It was in vain that, for

* *Lives of the Queens of England*, Vol VIII, p. 297.

Historical Introduction

wearing oak-leaves in their hats, English peasants were doomed, in the reigns of William and Mary, and at this period of that of their sister Anne, to incarceration in the village stocks. In vain did 'singing of the blithesome song of the 29th of May' subject the songster to the pains and penalties of clownish treason, the crime being expiated in the stocks and at the whipping-post. The song had got possession of the English heart, nor could the above pains and penalties hinder this refrain from being shouted, even in the stocks, of

‘ Old Pendrill, the miller, at the risk of his blood,
Hid the king of the isle in the king of the wood.’ ”

David Cox painted a sign for the “Royal Oak” at Bettws-y-Coed, and George Morland is credited with doing the same for some tavern nearer London. There is a third elaborately painted swinging-sign to be seen at Winsford in the Exmoor country, where a “Royal Oak” inn has flourished almost from time immemorial. In this case the picture has every appearance of age, but “mine host” confesses that “it is only a copy of the original by a distinguished artist.” *

“Charles the Second’s Head,” write Messrs. Larwood and Hotten,† “swung at the door of a ‘music-house’ for seafaring men and others, in Stepney, at the end of the seventeenth century. . . . At the present day, that king’s memory is still kept alive on a signboard in Herbert Street, Hoxton, under the name of the Merry Monarch. To his miraculous escape at Boscobel we owe the Royal Oak, which notwithstanding a lapse of two and a half centuries and a change of dynasty, still continues a very favourite sign. In London alone it occurs in twenty-six public houses, exclusive of beer-houses, coffee-houses, etc. Sometimes it is called ‘King Charles in the Oak,’ as at Willen Hall, Warwickshire. The Royal Oak, soon after the Restoration, became a favourite with the shops of London; tokens of some half a dozen houses bearing that sign are extant. What is rather more curious is that, not many years since, one of the descendants of trusty Dick Penderel kept an inn at Lewes, in Sussex, called the Royal Oak.”

Mr. Allan Fea has, in both his books relating to the Flight of the King, dealt at considerable length with the life-stories of the two

* *Devon, the County of Castles*. 1908. Published by the G.W.R. p. 147.

† *History of Sign Boards*, 1898, pp. 49-50.

The Royal Miracle

Lives ; but they were scarce three hours at Sea, and Col. *Gunter* scarce got home to his house, but there came a party of Rebels to search for a black man six Foot high, but they failed by good providence of their mark, his Majesty with a fair Gale of Wind soon after Arriving in *Normandy* to the unspeakable joy of all Loyall Subjects.

Te Deum Laudamus.

London printed and are to be sold by *Joseph Blacklock* at the Turks-head in Ivy-lane,
and Mr. *Michaell* in Westminster-hall. 1660.

III

The Royal Oake

